

Divergent Identities?

The Middle and Upper Ouse Valley in the Late Iron Age and Romano-British periods

Volume One: Text

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by

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Abstract

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This thesis is a study of social change in Britain in the Late Iron Age and Romano-British periods. Evidence from the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley is examined in order to discover how Late Iron Age communities constructed their identities, and how they were transformed with the coming of Rome. A regional and landscape-based approach is adopted, making full use of the wide range of information available.

Two case study areas, Milton Keynes and Bedford, are compared, using excavated data, and the results are tested with reference to the less detailed data obtained from Sites and Monuments Records. The patterns revealed in the case studies are then viewed in the light of data from neighbouring comparative regions. Based on developmental trajectories seen in those regions, some interpretations are given for the diversity seen within the study area.

This thesis reveals a pattern of different regional identities in both Late Iron Age and Romano-British periods. It thereby contributes to the breakdown of the monolithic image of Britain as a whole, as well as of the region itself. It demonstrates that, on a small and local scale, different communities and individuals may have received different treatment from the state, and reacted in different ways. Furthermore, by considering a wide variety of sites, material culture and behaviour, and not focussing on the elite, this research has also given a voice to those of lower status.

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Abbreviations

BA	Bronze Age
IA	Iron Age
EIA	Early Iron Age (approximately 800 – 400 BC)
MIA	Middle Iron Age (400 – 100 BC)
LIA	Late Iron Age (100 BC – AD 43)
1 st century (R)	Later first century (Romano-British)
RB	Romano-British
ERB	Early Romano-British
MRB	Mid Romano-British
LRB	Late Romano-British
GB	Gallo-Belgic
MK	Milton Keynes case study area
BD	Bedford case study area
SMR	Sites and Monuments Records

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Chapter 1 Introduction to the study area

1.1 Introduction

The subject of this thesis is social change in Roman Britain in the Late Iron Age and the Romano-British period. Evidence from the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley is examined from the perspective of identity, a subject in which there is currently much interest amongst archaeologists (2.3.1; 2.6.2). Identity emphasises the diversity of experience of both individuals and communities, and therefore spheres of life which might reveal continuation, discontinuity, or change in identity are examined. The aim was to discover how Late Iron Age communities saw themselves, how they constructed their identity, and how this was transformed (if at all) with the coming of Rome.

A second theme is that of population groups and their boundaries, which are very relevant to this area for reasons which are given below (1.4). Both aspects are examined using a landscape approach, drawing on the large corpora of data which have become available, in Sites and Monuments Record Offices, excavation reports and archaeological journals.

1.2 The location of the research

The River Ouse is one of the largest English rivers, both in terms of its length (some 210 km), and its catchment area, about 7800 sq km (3,000 sq miles) (Summers 1973: 13). The Ouse rises in the centre of England, near Greatworth in Buckinghamshire, in a landscape of low hills, none of which is much higher than 120 m. These merge into a flatter area as the river reaches the Fens, before eventually flowing out into the Wash. This research is confined to the upper and middle parts of the valley, and extends east to just below the confluence of the Ouse and the Ivel on the Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire border. This constitutes a block of land some 50 by 20 km, aligned roughly north-east/south-west along the river (Fig 1.1A).

The study area has a distinct geographical identity in that it lies between the more elevated landscapes of the Cotswolds to the west, the Greensand Ridge to the south, and the catchment of the River Nene to the north, and to the east the lowlands of the Fens. In the north of the study area, on the watershed with the Nene, lie the remnants of medieval hunting forests, Whittlewood, Salcey Forest and Yardley Chase. Much of this land was cultivated and settled in the Iron Age, if not earlier; a number of Iron Age and Romano-British sites were found where the forest was cleared over the last couple of centuries.

Modern landmarks include the towns of Buckingham, Milton Keynes, Bedford, and Sandy. The area is crossed in the west by the M1 Motorway, and by the Roman Watling Street, now the A5 trunk road. In the east runs the A1, part of which follows the route of the Baldock-Sandy-

Durovigutum (Godmanchester) Roman road (Simco 1984: 64). A network of minor roads has been proposed by a group called The Viatores, but only a small percentage of these has been confirmed by subsequent research (Viatores 1964; Simco 1984: 78-79) (6.10).

1.3 Traditional views of the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley

Haverfield described the Midlands plain, which included Buckinghamshire and central and west Northamptonshire, as one of the sparsely inhabited ‘thin spots’ of Roman Britain, where ‘great woodlands’ and ‘damp and chilly clay’, together with the lack of mineral resources, meant a ‘less richly developed civilization’ than land further east, particularly east Northamptonshire (Haverfield 1912: 22; Haverfield 1902: 165-166). Until the last decades of the twentieth century, the conventional perception resembled that of Haverfield. The area was viewed in the light of the main Roman roads traversing it, the few Roman small towns in the vicinity, and the occasional ‘villa’ which had been discovered. For the LIA period, as late as 1973, Bedfordshire was seen mainly in the context of the relatively late arrival of ‘Belgic’ culture, manifested in new pottery, metalwork and burial traditions. The absence of ‘Belgic’ settlement from the region, except on river gravels, was still attributed to the intractability of the higher claylands (Simco 1973: 14).

In 1985 Branigan published a study on the *Catuvellauni* whose territory was thought to include the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley. He saw a densely populated landscape with a range of settlements, varying from *vici* and minor towns, to villages and farmsteads, where complex ‘social, tenurial and agricultural relationships’ existed, together with ‘social, economic and administrative relationships’ between urban and rural sites (Branigan 1985: 1, 100). In common with other contemporary writers (eg Salway 1981), Branigan focussed on architectural evidence (mainly villas), and economic and social matters, but gave little consideration to the symbolic aspects of life, such as burial or other ritual.

At the time, topics such as the persistence of roundhouses, landscape layout – boundaries and field systems – and settlement continuation and change, had been little studied. Cropmark evidence had rarely been exploited, apart from a survey of Bronze Age round barrows undertaken in the Ouse valley (Field 1974). Furthermore, very few rural sites had been investigated, a notable exception in the study area being Odell in Bedfordshire (Dix 1981). The deluge of new information now appearing, thanks to the new initiatives described below (1.7), means that the Late Iron Age and Romano-British occupation of the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley is now a subject ripe for reassessment, and this is the aim of this thesis.

1.4 The importance of the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley

This part of the Ouse Valley is an interesting and important area for the reasons given below.

1 *Its potentially liminal position*

The study area lies on the fringes of the area of Britain which had early contact with both the Mediterranean world and north Gaul. At the same time, it is traditionally thought to be located near the northern limit of *Catuvellaunian* territory, which extended some 150 km to the north of the Thames (Branigan 1985: 1) and therefore can be expected to show the influence of several different populations. It may thus be possible to observe continuity and change in boundary communities from the LIA into the RB period. However, given the uncertainty about the precise significance of ethnic names, this study will operate on the basis not of ethnic groups or named tribes (Salway 1981: Map II), but of population groupings, in the same manner as the regional coin groups of LIA Britain have been classified (Haselgrove 1987: Fig 4.3). Population groupings are discussed further in 2.4.

2 *The River Ouse: a corridor or a barrier?*

The Ouse had potential importance as an east-west route and as a means of transport and communication with other population groups, and for contact with the continent via the Wash. Conversely, it may have acted as a barrier to communication and have been viewed as a boundary. In the same way, the higher land above the watershed with the Nene may have been perceived as a liminal area, where contacts could be made with neighbouring groups, or as a distinct social boundary. In addition, the river may have had phenomenological or religious and ritual significance. Recent studies suggest that from the Neolithic period onwards, there were ceremonial complexes along the middle and lower parts of the river in Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire. These were distributed regularly at five or six km apart, and consisted of a variety of structures, including cursus monuments, long mortuary enclosures, pit alignments, and ring ditches and barrows (Malim 2000: 57). The extent to which these were respected by LIA and RB populations will also be discussed.

3 *The regional importance of the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley*

The area has as yet no 'significant archaeological identity' (Dawson 2000b: 1). Until recently, it had been subjected to less development, and hence the discovery of archaeological sites has lagged behind the adjacent Nene Valley, which has proven to have been densely occupied, as shown, for example, by the Raunds Area Project (Parry 2006). Although there was intensive work by the Milton Keynes Archaeology Unit until it was disbanded in the 1990s, this was restricted mainly to the designated area of the new city, which lies well to the south of the Ouse. However, since the 1990s, major road and public utility schemes around the town of Bedford have brought to light material from all archaeological periods. In addition, in 1996 Bedfordshire County Council commissioned (for purposes other than archaeology) a survey of vertical colour aerial photographs for the whole county. The cropmarks obtained have now been interpreted and plotted, and suggest intensive LIA and RB use of the valley sides to the north and south of

Bedford, as well as increasing use of the claylands. There is now sufficient information available from a variety of sources to attempt to answer a number of questions, and to deepen our understanding of an area which until now has been relatively neglected. It will also enable comparisons with adjacent regions and contribute to knowledge of the south-east Midlands as a whole.

1.5 Relevance to current archaeological debate

This research will further contribute to the breaking down of the unified view of the Late Iron Age and RB periods, and instead help to emphasise their regional and varied nature. It will examine topics such as ritual deposition and excarnation, of which we are now more aware, and which until recently have been neglected for this area and period. Literacy, an important indicator of Roman identity, and its related material culture, will also be a focus. Unlike many topics, for example, ceramics, little has been published on this theme, although currently a British Academy project is underway to prepare a corpus of writing tablets from Roman Britain (<http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk/RIB/RIBIV/jp5.htm>, accessed 10/5/07).

This thesis will also attempt to give a voice to rural, lower status communities, in contrast to the military, urban or villa sites which have until recently been the focus of excavation. Between 1995 and 1998, 31% of sites explored (as shown in the journal *Britannia*) were basic rural sites, compared to 17% between 1969-1988, showing some improvement (Evans 2001: 35). However, a quick count of the same journal for the following years, up to and including 2006, reveals that only 28% of sites came into this category, suggesting that there has been no further progress in this respect. Bearing in mind that probably 95% of RB sites were non-villa rural settlements (Mattingly 2006: 46), it is clear that excavation work is still skewed towards higher status sites.

On a local scale, this research will contribute to local archaeological knowledge, and the work of the Sites and Monuments Records offices. For example, Bedfordshire County Council intends to preserve a part of the county's archaeological landscape by making a case for its listing and protection. It is hoped that this research will be able to contribute evidence to support the application.

1.6 Archaeological investigations and publications

As already noted, the Ouse Valley as a whole has not been seen as a unit for archaeological research in its own right, perhaps because it lacked a significant IA or RB focus. The lower reaches were covered in an extensive programme of research, the Fenland Project, lasting around 20 years, and summarised in Hall and Coles (1994). In the middle Ouse Valley, sites in the Bedford area were primarily excavated in the 1990s onwards, although more recent excavations include the A421 Great Barford Bypass.

For the upper Ouse Valley, the 1970s and 1980s saw the bulk of the work in the new city of Milton Keynes, undertaken by the Milton Keynes Development Corporation Archaeological Unit. Since then, work for PPG16 requirements has continued in some locations, both within the designated area and the wider Unitary Authority of Milton Keynes. However, to the west of the new city, areas of north Buckinghamshire and south Northamptonshire have seen little recent investigation. Notable exceptions are the excavations for the A43 Dualling Project, around Silverstone (Mudd 2002), and the Whittlewood Project, which covers some of the south-west parishes in the study area, and is based mainly on field survey (Jones *et al* 2005). A canal to link the Grand Union Canal in Milton Keynes with the Ouse at Bedford is also being planned, and new housing developments are proposed, raising the prospect of more archaeological investigations in the area.

The middle and upper stretches of the Ouse are located in five local authority areas, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Milton Keynes and Bedfordshire. Each has its own SMR office, where information is stored in varying formats. Each also has (or had in the past) its own archaeology service and local archaeological societies. There are also many independent contracting units undertaking PPG16-related investigation. As a result, although a wide range of excavation reports and local journals is available, this does not result in coherent coverage of the research area as a whole.

Of the few synthetic works about the Ouse Valley, none covers the whole study area in the LIA or RB periods. In 1984, a volume about the Nene and Ouse in the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age, and a survey of Bedfordshire in Roman times, were published (Knight 1984; Simco 1984). In 1987, Milton Keynes Archaeology Unit published the results of work carried out on Roman sites in the new city up to 1983 (Mynard 1987); this is now over 20 years out of date. An edited volume of papers, *Prehistoric, Roman, and Post-Roman Landscapes of the Great Ouse Valley*, focuses on the middle and lower Ouse valley (Dawson 2000b). This combines recent excavation results with modern theoretical analysis; however, although published in 2000, a great deal of it was written in the mid 1990s. A more recent volume by Dawson (2004) covers several Bedfordshire sites and does contain some synthetic material, but only for that county.

My own synthesis aims to fill the gaps left by these publications. Using more recent archaeological evidence, and information from new national initiatives, discussed below, it compares and contrasts the central and western reaches of the river and its surrounding landscape, and thereby updates knowledge about the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley. This will contribute to extend knowledge of adjacent areas especially the Nene Valley and Fens which have been well-served by archaeology.

1.7 National archaeological initiatives

In 1990, new legal requirements brought far-reaching changes to the archaeological world. The implementation of PPG-16 (*Department of the Environment Planning Policy Guidance Note 16: Archaeology and Planning*: Department of the Environment 1990) required archaeology to be taken into account by developers and has led to a huge number of excavations, often small-scale. Few of these have been published and reports are mainly available as ‘grey literature’.

In the mid-1990s, English Heritage encouraged archaeologists to develop academic frameworks for the different periods of England’s past. From this initiative arose the Iron Age Research Seminar, and a conference session entitled ‘Romano-British Research Agendas’, both of which published reports (Haselgrove *et al.* 2001; James and Millett 2001). The former was particularly concerned to break down the concept of a ‘single, uniform, Iron Age’, and to look at regional patterns, which, together with looking at interaction between all sections of society and all aspects of life, have been the subject of a number of edited volumes (Bevan 1999; Gwilt and Haselgrove 1997; Haselgrove and Moore 2007). James and Millett concentrated on the need to synthesise current knowledge of Roman Britain, place it in a wider context, and define what more needed to be known (James and Millett 2001: 2-3). Since that time, regional frameworks for most of Britain have become available, mainly on-line, of which the most recent is the Solent-Thames Archaeological Research Framework, which, as it covers Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire, is particularly relevant to this research (www.buckscc.gov.uk).

Regional frameworks take a holistic view of regional diversity. For example, part of the East Midlands Archaeological Research Framework, sponsored by English Heritage and local authorities, was published in 2006. The research aims are summarised as:

- 1 To provide an accessible and up to date overview of the current state of archaeological knowledge in the region.
- 2 To highlight the major gaps in that knowledge and potential areas where the region can contribute to regionally and nationally important research questions.
- 3 To encapsulate the archaeological character of the region and its research potential and there act as an authoritative reference tool in the future management of that resource in the interests of curation, conservation, education, public appreciation and research.

Cooper and Clay 2006:1

Not only does this document examine regional variation within the East Midlands, but it also does so on a chronological basis, in order to view long-term and cross-period change, in topics ranging from settlement hierarchies and interaction, to social, religious and political structures (Cooper 2006b: 288).

Further important developments in regional studies include the Extensive Urban Survey, a national programme of historic English towns and cities, covering archaeology, topography, and

historical information, and supported by English Heritage, also in line with PPG16. In March 2007, 21 county surveys were complete and available on-line, and another eight underway (<http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/projArch/EUS>).

The National Mapping Programme is another valuable initiative. This is a long-term project which aims to record past human activity, from the Neolithic to the modern period, as revealed by aerial survey. By July 2006 one-third of England was covered, with the result that a large number of aerial photographs is available for study (<http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/>). Northamptonshire is one of the counties which has completed its mapping.

Finally, the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) was introduced in 1997 with the aim of recording unstratified finds, usually discovered via metal-detecting, which might otherwise be unavailable for study. The PAS records all artefacts in as much detail as possible, together with their findspots, and the information is published on-line (Worrell 2007: 372). The whole of England and Wales is now covered by the scheme which in 2006 recorded 58290 objects on its database (PAS Annual Report 2006, British Museum) (<http://www.finds.org.uk/>).

These four initiatives have been developing over the years during which I have been writing my thesis, and only the PAS has full national coverage as yet. Nevertheless, some of the sources have been available for the study area, namely the regional frameworks and a number of the Extensive Urban Surveys, and they have been made use of in this research.

1.8 Aims and structure of the thesis

The intention of this research is to integrate recent theoretical approaches with the wide range of data now available, in order to address the following questions:

- 1 How did LIA communities express their identity, and were there perceptible differences within the study area?
- 2 How, and in which spheres of life, did identity and social change vary after the Roman conquest?
- 3 Does the evidence for changing identities, especially in the ERB period, suggest that the experience of Rome was different in the study area to that in adjacent territories?

With these aims in mind, the rest of the thesis is structured as follows. Chapter 2 reviews the theoretical background, traditional and more recent, and the approaches to be used. It considers issues relating to various spheres of life and examines how identity can be observed in the archaeological record. Chapter 3 covers the methodology of the collection, recording and analysis of the research data, and of the regional comparisons. Chapters 4 and 5 examine the excavated evidence, under the headings of material culture and symbolic behaviour. Chapter 6 integrates the results of the SMR analysis with that of the excavated data, and, together with

some other landscape-based topics, arrives at an overall picture for the study area, thereby answering Questions 1 and 2, above. Chapter 7 compares the findings of Chapter 6 with information from adjacent areas, in order to answer Question 3. Finally, Chapter 8 interprets the results of analyses in the light of theoretical work discussed in Chapter 2, and discusses work which could be undertaken on the subject in the future.

1.9 Concluding comments

My initial reason for studying this area was the lacuna in landscape synthesis for the region. As the research progressed, I became aware of significant and sometimes fascinating strands of information, which I have combined with current archaeological thought in order to offer an interpretation of the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley in the Late Iron Age and Romano-British periods. This been a challenging, but extremely rewarding, undertaking.

Chapter 2 Theoretical frameworks

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses traditional perceptions about both LIA and RB periods, and associated models of culture change, together with more recent theories which take a different perspective. It also outlines the main approaches to be used in this research. The later sections examine how the various types of identity can be discerned in archaeological remains.

2.2 Traditional perceptions

2.2.1 The LIA period

Until recently, perceptions of the LIA period have been based on those of the classical writers, who depicted the Britons as fierce marauders from the barbarian world, thus bestowing on them a reputation directly opposed to the civilised, Graeco-Roman lands. This created a concept of ‘the other’, which in turn accentuated the identity of the classical civilisations. For example, Caesar stated of the tribes of the interior of the island that they ‘do not grow grain; they live on milk and meat and wear skins ...’ (Caesar *Gallic War* 5.12-5.14). These views were revived by imperial discourse in the nineteenth century, which aimed to justify its colonising activities as a civilising mission, and used classical Rome as a parallel. Such perceptions underlie Romano-British scholarship until at least the 1970s (Hingley 2000: 9-10, 164).

They include the culture-historical concept, in which a package of traits is defined as a culture (Collis 1999: 36). This originated in Montelius’ (1899; 1903) typological method of examining stylistic variations in prehistoric artefacts which suggested that cultural developments were always ahead in south-east, rather than north-west, Europe, and led to the idea of an innovative core and diffusion of ideas to the outlying peripheries (Trigger 1989: 157-160). Closely related is core: periphery, a key model applied to the LIA period, which is based on Wallerstein’s world-system theory (1974). This holds that peripheral areas supply central ones with raw materials, and that those core areas dominate politically and economically (Trigger 1989: 332). Territories closest to a core are therefore influenced to a greater extent than are distant ones. Cunliffe still sees LIA Britain as centred on the Thames Valley, the *Durotriges*, *Dobunni* and *Corieltavi* in a peripheral zone, and the remainder of Britain ‘beyond the periphery’ (Cunliffe 2005).

Core: periphery theory has been challenged on a number of fronts. For example, in relation to the Roman empire, it has been pointed out that both core: periphery and world systems theories focus on the core of the empire, thereby marginalising inhabitants of its periphery and ignoring

regional diversity and the possibility of individual choice (Woolf 1990: 54-55). Creighton has also criticised the core: periphery model, on the grounds that it presents a unilinear and progressive view of political evolution (Creighton 2000: 4-9).

A further subject of controversy is that of the Celts. After a period when Celtic ancestry for Britain was accepted, at the end of the twentieth century the topic became contentious in academic circles and, at the same time, a favourite subject of pseudo-archaeological publications and broadcasts. The recent debate can be charted over seven years via papers in *Antiquity* by Ruth and Vincent Megaw, John Collis and Simon James. The Megaws were the main proponents of the argument that the Celts were a pan-European population. Views which disagreed with this, denied any Celtic migration to Britain, or indeed that the prehistoric Celts had ever existed, drew accusations from the Megaws, of, for example, 'ethnic cleansing' (Megaw and Megaw 1996: 180). This was countered by Collis, who questioned their linking of La Tène art with a particular ethnic group, the Celts, as being a 'false methodology' (Collis 1997: 200).

In 1998, Simon James entered the debate, stating that the large amount of rigorous data recently obtained, and the regional diversity which this revealed, means that it was no longer possible to generalise over large areas or long time periods, and that instead emphasis was better placed on 'a mosaic of identities and ethnicities', rather than a uniform Celtic culture (James 1998: 202-207). Thus the 'Celts' are now less frequently discussed in archaeological circles, except, perhaps, in the context of art or language (Mattingly 2006: 51).

2.2.2 The RB period

Traditional perceptions of the Romano-British period have often been encapsulated in 'Romanisation', a term originally introduced at the beginning of the twentieth century by Francis Haverfield. Based on work by Theodor Mommsen, it described the gradual change as native groups in Britain adopted a Roman material culture and way of life. Haverfield stressed the homogeneous nature of the Roman Empire, but also emphasised the speed and uniformity of the spread of Roman influence (Hingley 2000: 112-117). This was in keeping with the imperial mission of Britain of the time, and saw Rome, like Britain, as bringing the benefits of civilisation to a barbarian people (Mattingly 2006: 4-5). It was related to the concept of acculturation, originally a two-way cultural exchange, which became seen as a one-way Romano-centric process, resulting in the adoption of Roman culture by native populations (Jones 1997: 33). The theory of Romanisation, then, suggests that the adoption of Roman culture by provincials was both unilateral and standardised (Mattingly 1997b: 9).

Romanisation has been challenged on a number of fronts. As a monolithic and standardised process, cultural differences were obscured (Woolf 1998: 15). As deliberate Roman policy,

Haverfield's model, in which cultural change was promoted by Rome, the inhabitants of Britain including the elite were passive in their acceptance of Roman culture. Millett's model, based on native agency, saw local aristocracy as active agents in their emulation of Roman traditions, which then spread down to the rest of the population (Millett 1990: 38; Mattingly 2004: 6). Thus Millett, in privileging the elite, ignores the role of the masses, but also denies any involvement of the state, while that of Haverfield saw no role for native peoples whatever their status (Mattingly 2004: 7).

Further discourse on the subject suggested that 'weak Romanisation', a loose reference to events involved in creation of a new polity, not implying acculturation, should be substituted for 'strong' Romanisation, which involved deliberate official Roman policy, and emulation of the elite through behaviour and material culture (Mattingly 2002: 537-538). However, replacing the choice of emulation by the elite as a substitute for deliberate policy by Rome, while acknowledging the role of local elite, plays down power exerted by Rome. The negotiation of power was key to development of provincial identities, and the retention of native tradition or take-up involved (Mattingly 2006: 15-17). 'Weak Romanisation' was therefore discarded by Mattingly as equally unhelpful, and it was recommended that other analytical approaches, such as identity or discrepancy, should be employed instead (Mattingly 2002: 537-538).

There have been different approaches to the deconstruction of Romanisation. Studies which have contributed to the downfall of the concept of Roman *versus* native, are those of Peter Wells, who examined material culture in Roman Germany and beyond its borders, and demonstrated that nowhere were there purely Roman, or indigenous, sites. Instead, local people had adopted elements of the new traditions to suit themselves, sometimes transforming them, from, for example, classical to Romano-Celtic style temples. The result was the evolution of 'dynamic new societies', incorporating both Roman and indigenous culture (Wells 1999: 264-266).

Over the last few years, the use of Romanisation has indeed been reduced, at least for south-east Britain. Elsewhere, instead of viewing development as influenced by Rome, alternative approaches, such as agency and regionality, are now being employed, for example in studies of eastern Scotland and Cornwall (Haselgrove and Moore 2007: 10). It is therefore hoped that the 'simplistic paradigm' that was Romanisation has been cast aside (Mattingly 2006: 491). I shall also reject this term, and employ alternative approaches (2.6).

2.3 Current analytical frameworks

2.3.1 Identity

Of the alternative approaches to the traditional perspectives described above, identity, discrepant experience and regional diversity are amongst the most important. Identity – how the

Romano-British saw themselves, as individuals and as communities, both in relation to Rome, and to other indigenous groups – is central to these new approaches to examining the effects of Rome on its provinces. Identity is an ambiguous term: one dictionary definition gives ‘sameness; individuality’. It thus encapsulates the dichotomy between the desire to belong, and the desire to be different: the notion of ‘the other’ is in turn integral to identity.

Earlier archaeologists saw identity, not as subjective or negotiated, but as innate and objective, partly because cultures, rather than individuals, were the focus of study. However, from the 1970s onwards, sociological, anthropological and finally archaeological, debate, has addressed individuals and their role in society. Identity results from a social process in which individuals and groups reproduce the material conditions in which they live. Identities are not static, but change as the result of constant renegotiation with other individuals and groups, enabled by active choice, but at the same time restrained by factors beyond their control (Díaz-Andreu *et al* 2005: 5-6, 1-2).

Forms of identity include ethnic, gender, age, status and religious identities. Gender and age identity, as well as some aspects of ethnic identity, such as skin colour, can be termed ‘embodied’ in that they are biologically constrained, unlike status and religion (Díaz-Andreu *et al* 2005: 7-8). The implication then is that the individual can exercise control of the latter. Types of identity cannot be seen in isolation. Not only do all individuals belong to a permutation of the various affinities, but there are also a number of subsidiary groupings to consider. In the RB period these sub-groups might have included craft and military groupings, for example (Hill 2001: 17). Nowadays one would consider allegiances to school, university, profession or sports clubs as additional identities. Cross-cutting identities are now a focus of archaeological study (Díaz-Andreu *et al* 2005: 9). They can be retrieved from contextual analysis of material culture, whether relating to the body, foodways, settlement space and type, or consumption (Hill 2001: 17).

That identity has emerged as a dominant discourse in LIA and RB archaeology is indicated by its continuing popularity at the annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conferences, where alternatives to the concept of Romanisation were first discussed. The archaeological study of identity is discussed in more detail below (2.7).

2.3.2 Discrepant experience

‘Discrepant’ can be defined as differing; inconsistent; discordant. The concept of discrepant experience in relation to the Roman period grew out of a session at the first Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference held in 1995, and was prompted by concern about views of the benevolence of Roman imperialism which were still current. It was clear that the study of Roman imperialism should be reviewed to allow for less positive perspectives, such as

resistance to Rome, indigenous culture and power structures, and the negative effect of Rome, but also possible empowerment of local people through colonial negotiation.

With this in mind, the concept of discrepancy, based mainly on the work of Edward Said, was developed. This allows for the differing perspective of both dominant and subordinate groups in society, who may have had a public relationship which diverged considerably from their private readings of the situation. These, termed 'hidden transcripts' comprise resentments or misunderstandings about a situation (Mattingly 1997b: 7-13). Hence they could perhaps be compared to our contemporary use of 'agenda', as in 'he's got his own agenda'.

In LIA Britain there was a network of communities who would have reacted in many different ways to the new rulers, according to their own perceptions of identity, in particular those related to status and power. For example, some of the Romano-British population chose to live, not in the Roman-style, planned, *civitas* capitals, dominated by a tribal elite, but in 'small towns', organic, unplanned settlements (Hingley 1997: 87-93). They therefore showed resistance to both tribal elite, and Roman ideals.

A landscape perspective was used for two aspects of discrepancy, resistance and opportunity. A study of Roman Greece saw the early province as a resistant 'failure' – with little urbanisation, and a declining economy and population. This could be attributed to the fact that Rome was content to exact sufficient tribute, and otherwise leave the territory alone. However, provincial identity may have played a part, including respect for the past and of individual *poleis*, and traditional patterns of occupation. The elite may have been more concerned about these than grasping any 'opportunity' (Alcock 1997: 103-110).

In contrast, research in *Africa Proconsularia* and *Numidia* saw a successful economy, based largely on grain exports to Rome, which although it exploited the province also gave opportunities to many, even the non-elite. This was the result of different negotiations to those which had taken place in Greece. However, there could have been many variations on the continuum between resistance and opportunity, and such generalisations as these, based on whole landscapes, might also conceal discrepant experience (Mattingly 1997c: 117-135).

An approach which accommodates these aspects of discrepancy is creolisation. Creole material culture is a combination of traits taken from two or more separate cultures. Because this process takes place in the context of unequal power relations, the meaning of the resultant material culture can be ambiguous, varying according to context: in consequence, creolisation is often a process of resistance. One of the main advantages of such an approach is that it can focus attention on those at the bottom of the hierarchy (Webster 2001). However, this in turn could mean that the role of the elite might be denied, in spite of the fact that all sectors of society would have been involved in the construction of new identities (Mattingly 2004: 7).

It has been further suggested that discrepant experience could be developed into discrepant identity, which could then be used as an analytical device. This could be undertaken by the examination of archaeological assemblages, and discovering differences in their composition and use which could delineate broad groupings in society. Appropriate topics for this analysis might be, for example, whole landscapes and the settlement patterns within them, or the Roman army in Britain, the diversity of its troops, and the way in which they combined to produce one military identity (Mattingly 2004: 9, 14-22). These themes were extended in a later work, which examines divergent experiences and discrepant patterns of identity in Roman Britain (Mattingly 2006: 17-18) (2.5.3). The use of 'discrepant' has since been criticised on the basis that it merely means 'different' (Fulford 2007: 368); however, this does not carry the same connotation of discord or inconsistency.

2.3.3 Regional diversity

The result of traditional theories about LIA and RB periods is that both were perceived as homogeneous and discrete entities, with no allowance for the possibility of regional difference, or of gradual change between the periods. Both geographical and chronological variations were therefore ignored. In reaction to these normative concepts, recent studies have been concerned to introduce diversity of all types, and to consider the whole population, rather than merely the elite. For example, variability in the indigenous response to the conquest was demonstrated by a study of two LIA/RB sites, one in the study area (Bancroft) and one in the Upper Thames area some fifty miles away, at Claydon Pike, Gloucestershire. These show differences in the manner and timing of the uptake of Roman material culture and lifestyle, both between the sites, but also within the different households on each site (Rippengal 1996). A more recent example is Fincham's study of the Fens (7.9.3). These new regional perspectives have been influenced as much by new legal requirements, in the form of PPG-16, and by ensuing national initiatives such as the regional frameworks (1.7), as by archaeological debate.

2.4 'Tribal' groupings

2.4.1 Introduction

This topic is dealt with separately for two reasons. First, because changing views of population groupings have led to radical re-interpretations of the transitional LIA/ERB period (2.5). Second, because, as noted in 1.4, the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley lies in a potentially liminal area, on the margins of an area of southern Britain which had early contact with Rome, but also in a possible boundary area between separate populations.

2.4.2 Traditional perceptions and their deconstruction

Until recently, the peoples of pre-Roman Britain were perceived as belonging to discrete ‘tribal’ entities. The original basis for this view was the texts of Caesar, and of later authors such as Tacitus and Ptolemy, which named some British ‘tribes’ and their rulers, and indicated which part of the island they inhabited. ‘Tribal’ territories were further defined by, for example, the Antonine Itinerary, which lists most of the *civitas* capitals, together with their ‘tribal’ names, and by the distribution of Iron Age coins, as well as inscriptions recording building dedications. The extent to which these were genuine tribal groupings is now questioned, for a number of reasons. The first is the unreliability of the ancient texts, which refer to endemic tribal infighting, but, as the opposition of a warlike and barbarous society with a peaceful and civilised one was part of the construction of Roman identity, this may have been somewhat exaggerated.

The second reason is the fact that population groupings were not static. Anthropological and archaeological study suggests that ‘tribalisation’, the formation of new tribes, takes place in areas affected by nearby expanding states, and that war between such states and indigenous areas can encourage both alliances and oppositions amongst the tribes. These new groupings are unstable, and warfare between them can result from changing circumstances, for example, in the control of trade (Ferguson and Whitehead 1992: 3-23). Both influences can be seen in the different reactions of British peoples to Rome between the arrival of Caesar, and that of Claudius a century later. While the earlier groups seemed to have joined forces against Caesar, this was not the case at the Claudian conquest. In the intervening period tribal groupings had been neither static nor peaceful. Some of the tribes mentioned by Caesar were no longer in evidence, but other groupings, some larger than others and possibly led by kings, had appeared (Jones and Mattingly 1990: 43). Further support is lent to the idea of changing tribal configurations by the fact that it is now thought that the *Dobunni* did not form as a group until the end of the last century BC, for before this date coins were minted by different rulers in the north and the south of the region (Faulkner 2002: 373).

The third reason is the fact that ‘tribal’ areas are difficult to retrieve from the archaeological evidence. Coinage has traditionally been used to map population groupings (‘tribes’), for coins bearing specific symbols, or leaders’ names, have a regional distribution (Curteis 1996: 18). Based on the traditional tribal groups, Salway produced his map (1981: Map 2) with a caution that political boundaries were insecure (Fig 2.1A). However, a few years later, Haselgrove preferred to give coin-using areas geographical, rather than tribal, names (Fig 2.2A) (Haselgrove 1987: Fig 4.3). Curteis (1996/2001) employed Haselgrove’s population groupings alongside ‘tribal’ coinage, but his work focussed on particular coinage issues. In general, more recent numismatic works have used the regional groupings defined by Haselgrove.

However, several questions have been raised about the significance of coin distribution. First, coin distribution does not always reflect territorial limits, as is obvious from the finds of Gallo-Belgic staters in Britain (Mattingly 2006: 358; Curteis 1996: 19); nor does it necessarily indicate political dominance, but perhaps merely where such currency was acceptable (Cunliffe 1981: 38). More recently, Gallo-Belgic coins have been seen as gifts used by rulers of the Eastern Kingdom in order to articulate new relationships further afield (Hill 2007: 24-25) (8.5.2).

There are other ways of reconstructing boundaries apart from the use of coinage alone. LIA religious centres are thought to have been frequently located on cultural or natural boundaries (Haselgrove and Millett 1997: 285). Whether shrines were related to tribal boundaries has not been, and probably never will be, substantiated. However, ritual deposits were often made at the boundaries of settlements and field systems, and structured deposition has been observed in pit alignments, also thought to have been boundaries (Willis 2001: 48). So the use of ritual and religious activity to mark the bounds of population groups may indeed have taken place.

A fourth reason for questioning traditional 'tribal' groups is that these may have been artificial, due to interference by Rome. The Romans may have practised 'divide and rule', by causing the locals to concentrate on internecine conflict, rather than opposing their conquerors (Millett 1990: 35). Conversely, it has been stated that expanding states need to identify friendly leaders, whom they offer military and political support and even titles and symbols of power (Ferguson and Whitehead 1992: 13). Intermarriages round the periphery of the empire were encouraged in order to strengthen such relationships (Creighton 2006: 16). These reasons have all contributed to the abandonment of the concept of discrete tribal groupings, based on geographical boundaries (Jones 1997: 330). The more ethically sound 'population' groupings has replaced 'tribal' groups, for the latter implies a lower level of civilisation (Collis 2007: 524).

The extent to which there was any common cultural feeling amongst the people at large should also be considered. Symbols on IA coins were possibly only recent inventions, and may only have signified to the rulers who ordered their minting, or perhaps to other elite. While coinage clearly has connotations of political power, it does not necessarily indicate any ethnic or cultural links. Similarities in ceramic and burial traditions are more likely to do so, but could equally well demonstrate other identities such as status or religious identity, or just a shared world view.

2.4.3 Conclusion

Anthropological research suggests that native populations act pragmatically in changing conditions, in order to maintain the best way of life possible (Ferguson and Whitehead 1992: 17). The non-elite may have been more concerned with the practicalities of daily life, together with issues relating to personal, status, or religious identity, than affected by political or ethnic

considerations. It would therefore be more appropriate to refer to regional, rather than tribal or ethnic groupings, and regionalism (2.6.3) is therefore a key aspect of this thesis, which will examine cultural patterning in a landscape context. However, although ‘tribes’ have been discarded as a useful category, the role of kings and other rulers have come to the fore, as discussed below, and will play a part in this research.

2.5 The LIA and RB transition

2.5.1 Introduction

The new analytical models described above have resulted in re-interpretation, particularly of the transitional LIA/RB period, and what it meant for the ensuing development of Roman Britain. Some of the most relevant studies of this subject are discussed below.

2.5.2 Creighton (2000 and 2006)

In 1990 Millett emphasised warfare and competition between small groups of clans in the LIA period, which may have stimulated the formation of larger, more permanent tribal groups, in particular in the south and east of Britain. In the latter area, the new grouping, equated with the *Catuvellauni*, had expanded into *Trinovantian* territory, and under Cunobelin became the major force with which Rome had to contend (Millett 1990: 21).

In contrast, a decade later Creighton, focussing on the role of coinage in power relationships in LIA Britain, saw Britain between the advent of Caesar and Claudius, not as a land riven by warfare, but as one where client kingdoms co-existed peacefully, led by rulers who constructed their own identities in line with imperial imagery, as displayed on coinage. Between the times of Caesar and Claudius, Rome may have strengthened ties between itself and the dynasties, for example by inviting LIA dynasts and their families to Rome, where Roman ways and loyalty were inculcated. These *obsides* – literally hostages – would have gained close experience of power and politics in Rome. Thus, while south-east Britain was effectively conquered in 54 BC rather than in AD 43, Rome decided to use Britain as a friendly client state rather than to subjugate her (Creighton 2000: 92, 216-217).

In his later work (2006), Creighton developed these concepts further, in particular in relation to the Southern and Eastern Kingdoms. He aimed to alter the perception of the conquest period as much as he had for the pre-conquest period in his earlier work – to ‘blur the picture’ of Britain conquered in AD 43 as subjugation of most of the island, with ensuing peace. He saw instead a gradual and opportunistic takeover of different kingdoms, and populations with their own identities, some with pre-existing links with Rome. This process may have taken 150 years, until the rule of Domitian, and have moved from power in the hands of allies of Rome, to direct imperial power, under emperor and governor (Creighton 2006: 2). Based on changes in the gold

coinage, Creighton sees radical political change in southern Britain in the mid first century BC, and the foundation of two new dynasties and kingdoms, that of Commius (Southern Kingdom) and Tasciovanus (Eastern Kingdom). They were interpreted as Gallic rulers whom Caesar appointed to lead federations of smaller groups, kingdoms which endured with some success until just before AD 43 (Creighton 2006: 20-22, 28-29).

These friendly kings had ruled from their centres at *Verlamion* and *Camulodunum* (Gosbecks, Colchester), in the Eastern Kingdom, and also Canterbury which it encompassed at that stage, and at Silchester in the Southern Kingdom. These were royal sites, whose status and power continued well into the RB period. For example, in the later first century BC, *Verlamion* was a series of enclosures by the river, comprising a ceremonial site. In the ERB period, the new town focussed on the Folly Lane burial site, to which a processional way led from the town. The dynasty or dominant family was possibly still in power, and was using its ancestral links for legitimisation purposes (Creighton 2006: 124-130).

A similar site developed at *Camulodunum*. As already noted, the *Catuvellauni* under Tasciovanus and then Cunobelin, had formerly been thought to have taken over the territory of the *Trinovantes*, led by Addedomarus and/or Dubnovellaunus. However, based on coin evidence, including the fact that one example from the Leicestershire hoard (7.6.3) contained both rulers' names – Cunobelin and Dubnovellaunus – they could be viewed as friends rather than foes. A ritual complex, focussing on the burials at Stanway and Lexden, may have joined and legitimated these two dynasties (Creighton 2006: 130-135).

The development of new towns around preceding ceremonial centres, often near dynastic burials, might be explained by the fact that these dynasties were encouraged or imposed by Rome in the first place. They were therefore referring back to their new beginnings, as much as to the distant past. These rulers may even have seen themselves as Roman aristocracy rather than barbarian Britons, and a new elite rather than a pre-existing one. These developments were the result of a lengthy process of renegotiation with Rome, in which friendly kings created new identities for themselves, resulting in a 'new imperial culture' in Britain, in which they shared common purpose with Rome (Creighton 2006: 155-161).

The most plausible elements of the picture drawn by Creighton appear to be the gradual process of incorporation of Britain into the Empire, rather than the conquest as a sudden event in AD 43, together with his acknowledgement of the agency of the native elite. However, his emphasis on friendly relationships between the empire and British leaders, and the possibility of a joint dynasty between Cunobelin and Dubnovellaunus, seems unduly optimistic and unconvincing.

2.5.3 Mattingly (2006)

Mattingly sets out a social and economic history of Roman Britain, which incorporates a broad range of archaeological evidence. It takes a rather different perspective to that of Creighton, particularly relating to the transitional LIA/ERB period. Like Creighton, Mattingly sees the advent of Caesar as the beginning of the incorporation of Britain into the Roman empire, and friendships between Rome and the two client kingdoms, the Southern and Eastern. However, Mattingly sees instability and rivalry between the client kingdoms and their leadership, punctuated by threats from Rome to invade at times of uncertainty, such as the death of Commius or Cunobelin. His view of client kingdoms, in comparison to that of Creighton, is therefore one more of repression, manipulation, and interference by Rome in matters of succession and taxation: for example, the Eastern Kingdom expanded west towards Oxfordshire, possibly with Rome's encouragement (Mattingly 2006: 67-75, 81).

During this period, expressions of community status changed to individual or dynastic status, and behaviour showing more contact with the Continent. Society became more highly stratified, as, for example, indicated by the King Harry Lane burials. However, this applied mainly to the Eastern and Southern Kingdoms, and other coin-producing areas were more conservative in their take-up of the new material culture and behaviour. Yet all were beginning to adopt new material culture, and emulating their more advanced neighbours. British communities took a pragmatic approach to Rome: the pro-Roman adopted those elements of Roman culture which they could use to show status and power in their own communities, resulting in new elite identities. However, this broadly pro-Roman stance did not necessarily mean that they were in favour of the eventual imperial take-over of their kingdoms (Mattingly 2006: 79-84).

In discussing differences in the response to Rome, and treatment meted out to provincials, landscapes are described as 'opportunistic' (for example, the Chilterns and the Cotswolds) and others as 'resistant' (Essex, the Fens, or the Weald). The latter includes lands affected by the invasion or the Boudican revolt, or those who were exploited by Rome for their natural resources. However, neither category can be seen as stable or immutable. First, there would have been change over time, due to improving or deteriorating relationships between local people and the authorities. Second, even in 'opportunistic' areas, where villas eventually developed, rural change took place relatively slowly in the first and second centuries. Finally, even within these 'landscapes of imperialism', there would have been many different scenarios, particularly relating to land ownership (Mattingly 2006: 522-523), a topic explored further in Chapter 8. Thus, although Mattingly takes a more pessimistic view of Rome's dealings with Britain, this does not rule out the possibility of acceptance of Roman rule and a working relationship between empire and subject.

2.5.4 Haselgrove and Moore (2007)

The most recent edited volume on the later Iron Age is Haselgrove and Moore (2007), which covers the period from about 400-300BC onwards, and a wide range of topics and regional perspectives. These draw upon recent theoretical concepts, together with analyses of material culture, and landscape archaeology. Many of the papers included are in response to recommendations in the regional frameworks and use newly-obtained data from PPG16 investigations, metal-detecting finds and items recorded in the Portable Antiquities Scheme (1.7). Those by Hill and Bryant, which cover social change in eastern England, have been particularly useful in this research (8.5.2; 7.9.3).

2.5.5 Conclusion

Although Mattingly has a less optimistic view of Britain's relationship with Rome than does Creighton, their interpretations have much in common. Both see assimilation into the Roman world as beginning at the time of Caesar rather than Claudius. This acts to remove the hiatus between the LIA and ERB periods, and to replace it by a transitional phase spanning both. Individual agency of rulers and other elite was a major factor, and the importance of land ownership is also emphasised (Creighton 2006: 85-86; Mattingly 2006: 354). Above all, both authors see the diversity found in early Roman Britain as the result of the varying perceptions, aspirations and experiences of its people, and how they chose to position themselves in society. There was no single stereotypical identity for either the LIA or RB period (Creighton 2006: 12; Mattingly 2006: 16). Furthermore, regional diversity, emphasis on the individual, and 'multi-vocality' are also major themes of the later Iron Age as a whole, as identified by Haselgrove and Moore and their contributing authors. The following section demonstrates how these concepts are taken forward in the rest of this thesis.

2.6 Approaches to be used in this research

2.6.1 Introduction

The traditional frameworks – the concept of a generalising and unified 'Celtic' LIA period, as well as a Romano-British, culture, and of a passive, unilinear, and unilateral acceptance of the Roman way of life – have now been largely discarded. This study is in itself an attempt at decentring, which emphasises the importance of outlying areas. The three main approaches to be employed in this research will therefore be identity, regionalism and landscape archaeology.

2.6.2 Identity

The key theoretical issue of this research is diversity and discrepancy in the response of native British communities to Rome, both before and during the period of contact, and after the conquest. This study is therefore concerned to know how the Britons of the LIA and RB periods

saw themselves, and constructed their individual and group identities. Where affinities are seen between communities, this could suggest shared identity. Similar religious or burial rites, or styles of architecture, could reveal links with other groups, possibly outsiders, and the extent to which these different indicators coincide, overlap, or differ, will also be relevant. As a result, it is hoped that class, religious, group, political, and regional identities, often neglected in Roman studies (Hill 2001: 16), will all be illuminated.

2.6.3 Regionalism

One of the original incentives for studying the Ouse Valley was that it appeared to occupy a 'liminal' position between the territories of the 'south-east' and north-east' groups, or according to very recent perceptions, the Eastern Kingdom in the case of the former. Further consideration of liminality and similar expressions has concluded that none is satisfactory. Peripherality recalls core: periphery, which has been abandoned as a valid concept (2.2.1). Marginality, which has recently been employed in relation to archaeology (Mills and Coles 1998), can be physical, ecological, economic, social or cultural, or any combination of these (Graves-Brown and Locock 1999). However, as with core: periphery, there is the danger of viewing marginal areas in terms of a binary opposition: centre *versus* margins. Marginality can be subjective – for example, as well as, or instead of, being seen by others as marginal, some groups could have wished to be insular. The question of how marginality is defined is also an issue: this could be in relation to the core (core: periphery), or as a liminal zone between core areas (Young 1999).

In anthropological terms, a liminal zone is a transitional spatial or symbolic area, between two territories (Van Gennep 1960:18). This better conforms to the idea of shifting, permeable boundaries, than to fixed, and bounded territories. It allows for the fact that conditions could vary more in this liminal zone, and that there might be more life choices for individuals and groups to make, because of their distance from core areas, also because of the influence of different neighbouring communities. Nevertheless, liminality still focuses on the dichotomy between centre and margin, and implies a fixed and prescribed zone, rather than a constantly shifting one.

A further disadvantage with the use of all three terms is their subjectivity – both in the view of the archaeologist, and of the people themselves. Thus, while the East Anglian Fens might be seen nowadays as marginal in the LIA period, that was far from the case (Haselgrove and Moore 2007: 4). While clearly there *was* a difference in the uptake of Roman culture the further away from fully 'Romanised' areas one looks, and while the occupants of core territories might have regarded those in rural backwaters as peripheral, those in liminal areas would not necessarily have seen themselves as marginalised. They would instead have made their own, localised, choices as to how to respond to the incoming power. We should therefore attempt to

understand how local groups constructed their own identities in circumstances imposed upon them, rather than viewing them only in relation to the more central areas (Webster 1999: 29). For this reason, the subject of regionalism would be a more useful framework of study, in particular for the retrieval of difference and identity (Mattingly 2006: 522).

2.6.4 Landscape archaeology

As early as 1979, it was recommended that the RB period should no longer be 'parcelled' into discrete subjects such as villas, temples, or towns (Burnham and Johnson 1979: 1). More recently, archaeology of all periods has not concentrated its resources on 'one-site' excavations alone, and where possible, whole landscapes are investigated instead. For example, the Raunds Project examined the evolution of the landscape, using data from field survey, environmental and documentary research, and large scale rescue excavations (Rault and Harding 2001). This epitomises the recent landscape approach to archaeology.

Landscape archaeology itself is now a subject almost too diverse to define. One classification included landscape as ecology (economical and environmental aspects), landscape as palimpsest (reworking of the cultural values attached to land), and landscape as meaning, which covers anthropological and phenomenological issues (Stoddart and Zubrow 1999: 686-688). The new regional frameworks also treat the landscape holistically and emphasise geographical and chronological continuity and change, from the palaeolithic to the modern period, using all available resources (Taylor 2001b: 1, 8).

Adopting a landscape approach can yield more detailed information about a number of subjects. This includes the effect of road building on pre-existing settlement, and conversely that of settlement on the layout of the road system. It can also reveal patterns of distribution of burials, throughout the landscape (Taylor 2001b: 4, 9, 7). Landscape archaeology can focus on symbolic activity: individual identity is given by everyday use of the landscape, for example in the construction of ditches or fences to create family boundaries (Bevan 1997: 181-191). 'Sacred landscapes' can be used as an umbrella term to cover a number of topics, including the preservation, reuse or respect of monuments which can retain or retrieve the past, and construct individual and group identities (Williams 1998).

Roman roads represented display of hegemony or power; they may have had the primary purpose of military, economic and political communication, but also, in Italy at least, acted to appropriate the landscape for Rome (Laurence 1999: 18). Conversely, presumably it could be said that where Roman roads had little impact, communities could have remained relatively autonomous. The extent of mobility can be indicated by trading patterns, for example, that of pottery. Transport and trade are economic aspects of landscape use, but have also been viewed as a political and ideological activity which accompanies commodity exchange. In fact,

anthropological studies reveal that long distance contacts can be part of a cosmological view, in which the outside world is seen as a powerful, mythical and supernatural environment, and those travellers who enter it acquire power and prestige from their knowledge (Helms 1988). It could therefore be that increasing mobility in the RB period had social and symbolic significance as well as economic, and indicated changing identities, especially status identity.

2.6.5 Conclusion

This research incorporates all three approaches described above; first, regionalism, and regional diversity, in its examination of the differences revealed both within the study area, and between it and adjacent areas. Second, the consideration of location of burials, land use and communication routes are examples of landscape archaeology. Finally, the analysis of a wide array of archaeological evidence has illuminated various forms of identity in the study area, based on the examples below.

2.7 The recovery of identity from material culture

2.7.1 Introduction

Material culture of all types has been employed to illuminate lifestyles of different groups in the LIA and RB period. Personal appearance is one such topic: the use of items such as tweezers and nail cleaners have been viewed as indicating a change in self-perception relating to the body, linked to wider changes in identity, which began in the late pre-conquest period. These new traditions could have represented indigenous change, employed to distinguish local groups, families, or classes (Hill 1997: 98-102). Some illustrations of how identity can be retrieved from particular types of material culture and symbolic behaviour are discussed in the following sections, which offer theoretical perspectives and some background information, but act as a standard by which activity in the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley can be judged.

2.7.2 Architectural change and continuity

A generalised architectural trajectory for lowland Britain is one of circular houses, of timber or wattle and daub, with thatched roofs, in the LIA period, and continuing into the first and second centuries AD, particularly in rural areas. In southern and eastern areas, rectangular houses with one to three rooms, and sometimes stone walls, were constructed from the early RB period (Hingley 1989: 30-31; Roberts and Cox 2004: 247-8). Those of higher status would have displayed their wealth via villa-type establishments, with differing degrees of embellishment. This sequence did not apply everywhere, as noted below.

While villas were often stone-built and/or tile-roofed, non-villa buildings were more likely to be of timber and thatch construction (Hingley 1989: 31). The type of construction materials did not necessarily indicate wealth or poverty: for example, a timber-framed building with mosaics and

painted plaster was found in the City of London (Salway 1981: 233). Style and shape, and architectural elaboration, were perhaps more relevant. However, there are further considerations. For example, villas came in various shapes and sizes, from a simple aisled building, possibly a continuation of LIA local traditions (Mattingly 2006: 377), via row-type houses, to ornate courtyard establishments. These types, together with their implications for/development from social structure, have been analysed in more detail by, for example, Smith (1997).

It is now becoming obvious that rectangular buildings may have been more common in LIA Britain than hitherto thought: there was in fact no homogeneity in building types, which may have varied considerably within and between regions (Moore 2003: 55).

2.7.3 The meaning of roundhouses

The retention of roundhouses into the RB period may be interpreted in a number of ways. It has been seen as resistance, or possibly deliberate subjugation of the non-elite by their superiors. Roundhouses in villa contexts, for example at Barnsley Park, Gloucestershire, and more pertinently, Bancroft villa, may have been slave quarters, where slaves or 'degraded kin' were accommodated (Webster 2005: 170-177). It has also been noted that in the East Midlands, the south-western part of the area (the upper Nene and upper Ouse basins), roundhouses occupied a secondary position to rectangular buildings in larger settlements (Taylor 2001a: 52).

A mixture of roundhouses and rectangular buildings was common in Milton Keynes and Northamptonshire. The choice of continuing to build roundhouses, whether in timber or stone, sometimes alongside rectangular forms, suggests the persistence of old traditions, and that materials were less important indicators of identity than style and shape (Keevil and Booth 1997: 42). Other interpretations of the persistent use of roundhouses are that they denoted a backward or outmodish population, or functional or economic restraints, such as a lack of building stone in locations where timber building (in whatever shape) persisted. A preference for roundhouses might also be related to communal living (Taylor 2001a: 51-52): rectangular buildings, divided into separate rooms, could perhaps denote a more isolated life-style. Villas or rectangular buildings (whether stone or timber) may have been an addition to the earlier traditional circular constructions, rather than a replacement.

2.7.4 Eating and drinking

Culinary habits are an important indication of identity, which vary according to region and time, depending on the diversity of a population and its contacts with other groups. This has been illustrated by case studies from Colchester, London, Castleford (Yorks), Orton Hall (Cambridgeshire) and Claydon Pike (Gloucestershire), and Bartlow Hill and other elite burials in south and east England. These represent respectively military and colonist inhabitants, a

developing city and trading centre, a military site, two rural settlements, as well as the high status burials. The study integrated all archaeologically retrievable information relating to food and drink, including vessels, utensils, food residues, animal and plant remains (Cool 2006: 172-199).

Insufficient information was available for most of the sites in the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley to undertake such nuanced research. Analysis which was undertaken includes that of vessel forms, which reflect the foodways of the users: how food and drink was prepared, cooked, served and eaten, and can reveal the social context of food consumption (Hill 2002: 144). Vessel forms can therefore indicate change or continuity in drinking and eating traditions. Earlier Iron Age assemblages consisted overwhelmingly of locally made open-topped jars and deep bowls, used for cooking, serving and storage, depending on size. In the LIA, the range of forms was greatly expanded, to include constricted top vessels, and a large number of other new forms, some of which were regional or continental imports. Some of the fine jars, and pedestal jars, as well as beakers, flagons, flasks, and narrow necked jars, were clearly connected with drinking practices, most likely of alcohol (Hill 2002: 145-148).

Changes in the RB period included a trend to more serving vessels and platters, and flatter dishes. The former are thought to show the serving of food in a formal dining manner, while the latter are assumed to have been used for Roman-style food, such as roast meat, rather than more liquid food which were (probably) the staples in earlier periods, and would have been eaten (or drunk) from jars or bowls (Hawkes 2003: 59). The RB period also brought the introduction of the mortarium, and the amphora for transport of oil, wine and *liquamen*. However, this trajectory is again a generalised one. Evans examined types of assemblages in rural, urban and military sites, in and outside south-east England, and noted considerable differences. For example, rural RB sites in the Midlands were still strongly jar-oriented, in comparison to contemporary urban sites dominated by dishes and bowls (Evans 2001: 27).

As noted above, particular vessels were associated with wine or beer consumption, and several studies have analysed ceramics in order to recover identity from drinking assemblages. Alcohol would have been consumed at funerary feasts, but also at other social gatherings, in order to express political and social identity (Ralph 2005: 56). Analysis of pots deposited in Essex and Herts during the LIA/RB transition found that Gallo-Belgic vessels, butt and girth beakers, were used at high status LIA sites such as Braughing and Sheepen, but not at the pre-Boudican *colonia* of Colchester, where imported samian and Roman wares, rather than Gallo-Belgic types, predominated. Possibly indigenous communities were using these larger vessels for communal drinking, unlike the incoming populations of the *colonia* at Colchester. The presence of these imports in LIA society was therefore not as a result of direct influence from Rome, but by contact with Gallo-Belgic peoples (Pitts 2005: 148, 156). However, the trade in wine into

eastern England, destined for the elite of that area and accompanied by Gallo-Belgic ceramics appropriate to wine – rather than beer – drinking (Cunliffe 2004: 7-8), conflicts to some extent with Pitts' conclusions.

Biddulph examined 'drinking' vessels used in RB burials in Essex. Ceramic cups were found mainly in high status burials, while in less wealthy burials beakers were more common. These were interpreted as being most suitable for consumption of beer or mead because of their large capacity. Meanwhile cups were used for wine, which would have been reserved for the elite (Biddulph 2005: 24, 42).

2.7.5 Literacy

All types of writing and inscriptions come under the broad heading of epigraphy, and these materials imply the presence of literacy (and sometimes numeracy), in those who produced and/or used them (Mattingly 2006: 38). Literacy, or at least a familiarity with writing, was present in LIA Britain from the later first century BC, with the advent of inscribed coins. These inscriptions may have been based on makers' marks on imported amphorae and finewares, which had a similar distribution to that of the coins, that is, Essex and Hertfordshire, and Hampshire. It is thought that the status accorded to these goods might have been transferred to the coins, already valuable for their precious metal content. Inscribed coins, graffiti on ceramics, and a few styli, were all found at the large settlements of *Camulodunum*, *Verulamium*, Braughing and Silchester, and may be evidence of record-keeping associated with the establishment of power by their rulers (Williams 2002: 135-148).

Evidence for literacy in Roman Britain includes epigraphic inscriptions, graffiti, which were found mainly on ceramics, curse tablets and writing materials, such as writing tablets, styli and sealboxes. In addition, religious dedications include curse tablets, a few inscribed statuettes and altars, and votive plaques and individual bronze letters. Intaglio rings were sometimes inscribed, predominantly with religious motifs, but were also used to seal documents, a further indication of literacy (Mattingly 2006: 458, 212).

The distribution of both styli and curse tablets suggests that knowledge of literacy and writing materials was not restricted in small numbers to the urban or elite. Analysis of names used on curse tablets, and of the text of their requests to the gods, suggests many were written by the local, non-elite. Styli are found, albeit usually singly, in many rural settlements. They were however overwhelmingly more common in villa sites (Hanson and Connolly 2002: 153-159). In fact the large numbers of styli found at villa sites suggests that account-keeping was an important aid to estate management (Dark and Dark 1997: 73).

While literacy itself may have been a status symbol, or a sign of adoption of Roman identity, so too could have been the use of Latin in some written materials. For example, in the Rhine delta,

auxiliaries may have been able to keep in touch with those at home using Latin literacy, as well as communicating with fellow soldiers, while in rural sites, local people may have used writing and reading pragmatically, for economic reasons, rather than to 'buy in' to Roman culture, for they otherwise adopted little material culture (Derks and Roymans 2002: 102-103).

Literacy from the earliest times to the present, when to be illiterate is a major social disadvantage, has always been associated with power. Examples are the use of writing in legal and bureaucratic systems, and in holy books (Bowman and Woolf 1994: 6-12). Literacy may also be seen as a mystic source of power to those who were ignorant of it, and restricted to holy men or scribes who used it in the service of rulers. The fact that its source was a distant land would also serve to impress (Helms 1988: 12).

Literacy was used differently and to varying levels in particular groups in society, ranging from the army, imperial administration, urban elite and large estates, to rural lower status settlements. In towns, the presence of literacy suggests administrative activities, perhaps including landholding, legal, taxation or census records. The 'epigraphic habit' (Mattingly 2006: 296) is therefore a key factor in discussions of discrepant identity and particular note will be taken of evidence associated with literacy which has been found in the study area.

2.8 The recovery of identity from burial rites

2.8.1 Introduction

There are three surveys of burial practice which together span the period covered by this research. The first, by Whimster, concentrates on typologies of IA burial, and has been updated by a more analytical treatment by Bristow, which covers the Neolithic to Iron Age (Whimster 1981; Bristow 1998). The RB period is well catered for by Philpott's survey, which contains both theory and a comprehensive catalogue (Philpott 1991). Because the latter is broken down into location and types of burial, this will be of use for comparing the Ouse Valley with other regional patterns.

There is now an awareness that all forms of mortuary rites should be investigated, for they can also reveal identities. Much of the material accompanying a cremation has until recently been ignored. These could include both pyre goods, burnt with the body, or grave goods, added at burial. *Busta*, sites where both cremation and burial take place in situ, are very rare in Britain (Barber and Bowsher 2000: 309). One reason for this may be that pyre remains were cleared soon after cremation. However, pyre debris is also known to have been removed and redeposited, in grave fills, pre-existing pits, or those dug for the purpose, or spread over the surface (McKinley 2000: 41).

Other aspects of mortuary rites include differentiation within, and between, cemeteries. The three late Roman cemeteries at Poundbury show differences of rite; for example, a more formal layout, which could indicate Christianity, in Cemetery One, while the other two had more 'pagan' practices, such as decapitation. These could be due to varying religious, social, ethnic or class identities. However, these identities would have been overlapping and no one cemetery is likely to have represented exclusively any particular group (Williams 1999: 102).

2.8.2 LIA burial traditions

One of the most important aspects of disposal of the dead is that of the chronology of change of rite. The tradition of burial which existed in much of the south-east at the conquest was flat grave cremation, showing a hierarchy of burial rite ranging from high status to various more modest levels of Aylesford Swarling types. The simplest were unaccompanied, and sometimes unurned, deposits. More ornate burials were accompanied by grave goods, varying from one pot, to two or more vessels, and metal items, usually brooches. Yet more wealthy burials might contain buckets, large assemblages of vessels including metal and glass, and imported pots. At the top of the hierarchy a richly furnished version of the rite, Welwyn burial, was characterised by deep vaults, lavish vessels for feasting, and items such as fire dogs (Philpott 1991: 6).

Elsewhere, cremation was more sparsely practised, although it reached as far north as the Nene Valley, and inhumation was practised in the pre-conquest period (Philpott 1991: 6). However, even in those areas of the south-east where cremation predominated, the native tradition of inhumation continued alongside to some degree, possibly due to the comparatively high cost of cremation (Philpott 1991: 53-55).

2.8.3 RB burial traditions

After the Roman conquest, areas in the south-east which had practised cremation in the LIA period maintained the same differentiation in burial status, and continental cremation rites introduced the use of lamps, glass vessels, bronze-decorated caskets, and imported ceramics, especially samian (Philpott 1991: 217-218).

Outside that area, where inhumation had been the LIA rite, cremations were generally sparsely furnished or unfurnished, and grave goods were burnt on the pyre. In areas where cremation had been practised in the LIA, grave goods were frequently present and generally intact or unburnt. Elsewhere, unfurnished crouched inhumation remained the predominant rite until the early third century (Philpott 1991: 221-222). However, throughout the RB period, as in the LIA period, inhumation and cremation could take place alongside. For example, from the second to the fourth centuries, both rites were present together at the Eastern Cemetery of London (Barber and Bowsher 2000: 302).

From the mid-second to the mid-third century, the new rite was extended inhumation, occasionally in wooden coffins or stone cists, and by the mid-fourth century, this was the dominant rite, sometimes in well-organised, aligned, cemeteries. From the third century onwards, regional developments included new rites and grave goods, of which the most relevant to the study area were decapitation and prone (rather than supine) burial, and the use of shoes or hobnails. These appeared in rural areas, from Wessex into south and east Midlands (Philpott 1991: 223-227).

2.8.4 Other methods of disposal

The evidence available for cremation and inhumation represents neither the estimated population, nor its spatial or temporal distribution. Examples of IA burial are very rare in most of Britain, and there is more evidence for the LRB than ERB period, no doubt because inhumation, the main LRB rite, is less subject to taphonomic processes and therefore relatively more visible than cremation, which predominated in the ERB period. Burials were also more evident in towns than in the rural sites where the majority of the population would have lived. It therefore appears that much of the RB population may have been disposed of by other methods, leaving little if any trace.

Until recently, unusual finds of human remains, such as disarticulated bones, were disregarded by excavators (Esmonde Cleary 2000b: 127-128). Where body parts appear on RB sites with earlier occupation they are still often described as originating in the Iron Age phases (Mattingly 2006: 477). One view is that fragmentary remains derive from shallow, inefficient burial, and subsequent disturbance by animals, rather than from exposure, excarnation or deposition in water (Taylor A 2001: 16-17). It is true that unurned cremation deposits were unlikely to have survived, and furthermore, cremated remains may have been scattered about the landscape, over fields, mountains, river and sea, as has become the fashion nowadays.

It is thought that bodies showing no evidence of animal gnawing might have been exposed on platforms which may have been protected from scavengers (Carr and Knüsel 1997: 170-171). One interpretation of the four post structures found on many IA sites, including Danebury, is as excarnation platforms: however, elsewhere they have been described as 'centralised grain stores' (Gent 1983: 259). The dead may instead have been deliberately exposed to scavengers, in particular, birds, and it has been suggested from faunal remains found at Danebury that ravens were semi-domesticated, either for their ritual significance, possibly being used in sacrifice, or equally likely, for use in excarnation (Luff 1996: 8).

Alternatively, the deceased may have been buried until decomposed, and then given secondary burial, possibly some years later. Cunliffe suggested that, for the IA at least, excarnation was the liminal stage in the rite of passage, and that burial was the formal completion of the rite

(Cunliffe 2005: 554). According to ethnographic analogy, secondary rites may have been expensive, and only accorded to those of higher status (Carr and Knüsel 1997: 167). This would account both for partial inhumations, and for random finds of unretrieved bone fragments. Human, together with animal, remains, may also have been placed on middens, and eventually deposited on fields as a fertility rite (Parker Pearson 1996: 126-7).

It has also been argued that cremation was merely an extension of excarnation, and not a radical change of rite. Bodies were exposed for excarnation before some were subjected to a secondary rite of cremation. The fact that some cremation burials contained very small amounts of cremated bone could be due to the fact that little remained after excarnation, or perhaps that a few bones only were given 'token' burial. Excarnation, cremation and inhumation may have been practised alongside within settlements, or by neighbouring groups, thus proving that there was no absolute norm in burial rite and that local traditions varied a great deal (Carr 2007).

Judging by finds of skulls, bone fragments, disarticulated remains, and evidence of sacrifice, such as Lindow Man, IA disposal traditions may have continued into the RB period. For example, head or skull cults may be inferred from the curation of human heads, perhaps taken as trophies, as revealed by evidence of defleshing and polishing (Mattingly 2006: 477). From Folly Lane, *Verulamium*, comes an example of an apparently deliberately defleshed skull, found in a deep second century pit which also contained a dog burial (Mays and Steele 1996: 155, 160).

2.8.5 Location of burial

Esmonde Cleary has examined the location of burials according to the type of site where they are found (Esmonde Cleary 2000b). In general, major towns in Roman Britain had cremation cemeteries in the first and second centuries, outside their gates, and by the fourth century, if not earlier, there were extensive managed inhumation cemeteries, again outside the town. In smaller towns, the pattern was similar: there were organised cemeteries in LRB, but also burials in the backyards of plots (Esmonde Cleary 2000b: 128-129). Burial in a 'managed' cemetery could have been restricted to certain groups – defined by status, culture or religion (Williams 1999: 102). Therefore backyard burial could perhaps be attributed to poverty, or at least an unwillingness to invest in display status in burial.

Villas were sometimes accompanied by cemeteries, but, like other rural farmsteads, have also produced isolated burials, frequently located in boundary ditches (Esmonde Cleary 2000b: 130-131). Hingley has suggested that these burials, and other ritual deposits, may have been intended to reinforce existing settlement boundaries (Hingley 1990: 96-102).

The use of the prehistoric monument for burial can indicate the attitude to earlier societies or ancestors (Esmonde Cleary 2000b:134; Meade 2004). Temples were also, in spite of strictures

to prevent them from being polluted by the dead, occasionally used as burial places, particularly for foundation deposits. In the south-east Midlands, there was a tradition of using the temple form for mausolea, as for example at Wood End Lane (Esmonde Cleary 2000b: 134). In addition, as already mentioned, there is the likelihood that a large part of the population was disposed of via excarnation or other methods of disposal. There was therefore a wide range of ways of depositing the dead in the landscape throughout the RB period.

2.9 The recovery of identity from ritual and religion

2.9.1 Introduction

Ritual has been described as thoughtless action, inspired by religion, but lacking its concepts – beliefs, myths and symbols (Bell 1992: 19). Another definition characterises ritual as repetitive and irrational action (Fulford 2001: 201). However, it is agreed that ritual was an intrinsic part of everyday life: it is difficult to separate sacred from profane, for ritual was ‘pervasive’ (Fulford 2001: 216). Aspects of ritual and religion are discussed below.

2.9.2 Ritual deposition

The subject of symbolic behaviour in Roman Britain, other than religion itself, has largely been ignored until recently. Prehistorians however have looked extensively at such issues. Hill’s work on ritual deposition in IA Wessex demonstrated that a large proportion of the IA archaeological record, the contents of ditches and pits, is not merely rubbish, but was evidence of deliberate and structured deposition, probably with ritual meaning (Hill 1995). The possibility that such practices continued into the RB period is shown by Clarke’s work at Newstead Roman Fort (1997; 2000).

Analyses of structured deposits in cities and small towns in Roman Britain shows that these informal practices took place alongside more formal ritual behaviours, such as the construction of temples and extra-mural cemeteries. Bearing in mind that fact that other studies have shown that such behaviour was ‘pervasive’ in rural settings, it has been concluded that there was no visible difference in the attitude of urban or rural communities. These practices continued from the beginning of the Iron Age, if not earlier, until at least the end of the Roman Britain. However, their meaning can only be guessed at, and possibilities include placating chthonic deities, or ensuring fertility (Fulford 2001: 200-201, 215-216).

These types of ritual deposition are most frequently found in and around settlement sites. There was no sharp distinction in LIA domestic or ritual activity, in that both produced evidence of ritual deposits, although the former might emphasise the agricultural year, while the latter might include weapons, brooches and coins (Bradley 2005: 187-8). However deposition, particularly of metal items, was very common at ritual and religious locations – in fact frequently a defining

feature – in both LIA and RB periods. Detailed studies of deposition of iron artefacts suggests that they were most frequently placed in settlement and shrine boundaries in the LIA period, and that while this continued into the RB period, the focus then became wells and deep pits within settlements. This use of iron is likely to have had symbolic significance, due to its importance in the manufacture of vital and ‘powerful’ tools, for warfare and agriculture (Hingley 2006: 238-239, 216-218).

2.9.3 Religion

A monolithic view of Iron Age religion has, at least until recently, been promulgated by authors such as Green, who speak of ‘Celtic’ religion being ‘more primitive’ than that of the Romans (Green 1976: 7). However, LIA peoples are now accepted as being heterogeneous, in contrast to earlier views, and it therefore follows that so were their beliefs (Millett 1995: 94). While there is little if any direct evidence of deities in the LIA, the native gods worshipped in the RB period, such as Sulis, may be the result of ‘crystalising’ the worship which had always taken place at these sacred springs, perhaps in resistance to Rome (Aldhouse-Green 2004: 200-201).

There has been continuing controversy about the degree of acceptance of Roman religion in the empire, and the extent to which Rome imposed her own beliefs. In general, people were free to construct their own religious identities, in the overall context of state religion, and/or local civic deities. Rome was usually tolerant of native religion – unless it either threatened the *pax romana*, or the hegemony of Rome, or contained rites distasteful to Rome, such as human sacrifice. However, many think that there *was* deliberate interference in religion. The practice of syncreticism, or *interpretatio romana*, which is the pairing of a non-classical god with a classical one, has been described as a form of religious imperialism. Since *interpretatio* was usually manifested in epigraphy, literate Latin speakers would have been involved (Webster 1995: 157). A reasonable conclusion therefore might be that the local elite in Britain, those who had most to gain, identified with the dominant culture by adapting Roman gods, but that at the same time the worship of local deities continued (Webster 1995: 160; Huskinson 2000: 269).

Although Roman religion in Britain is still portrayed as standardised (for example, Henig 2004), studies of material culture have revealed that this was far from the case, and that there were differences based on both regional location and type site. For example, the use of animals in temple ritual varied in the species involved and the manner of their deposition (King 2005) (8.9.5). Altars, vows and classical cults were common in military areas, and rare in rural (civil zone) communities. In rural (military zone) sites, few if any of the above were found (Mattingly 2006: 520-521). The fact that Romano-Celtic temples in rural districts have yielded very few inscriptions, unlike classical examples, suggests that there were differing practices in different

communities, for, as already noted above, there is plenty of evidence of rural literacy in the form, for example, of writing materials (Mattingly 2004: 17-19).

2.10 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined traditional and more recent perspectives on the LIA and RB periods, and also demonstrated how identity can be retrieved from archaeological evidence. The current overarching approach to both the LIA and RB periods is the replacement of standardised views with the perception of regional diversity, and the need to consider the roles of all sectors of society, whether state, elite, and non-elite. The large amount of data available for the Middle and Upper Ouse valley has proved a fruitful source of information about these discrepant identities, as is demonstrated in the following chapters.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

One way of investigating identity change in the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley is to examine the extent of homogeneity or heterogeneity of sites within the area before and after the arrival of the influence of Rome. Another perspective might be to examine the amount of diversity within a site. For example, the contemporaneous practice of several different burial traditions might be the result of insecure identity. On the other hand, variety and increased numbers of pottery fabrics and forms are indicators not only of new influences and ideas, but also of increasing contacts further afield. Tracking any such diversity through from the LIA to RB period should reveal whether there was a discrepant response to Rome. Any patterns revealed – spatial or chronological – might suggest allegiances within or outside the area, and can be compared with those shown in neighbouring regions. As a result, the extent to which identities were being transformed – or overlapped – over space and time should be revealed.

Although very different from the fenland of the lower Ouse, the topography in the upper parts of the valley is relatively uniform. Similar patterns might therefore be expected throughout the study area. This chapter covers the methodology for the collection of data and its subsequent analysis. The reasons for examining particular topics, already touched upon in Chapter 2, are discussed further here, and enlarged upon in later chapters where appropriate.

3.2 Defining the study area

The study area was, based on natural features, defined as the catchment area of the Middle and Upper Ouse. This covers an area of some 1000 sq km, extending north to the watershed between the Nene and Ouse, and south to the foot of the Greensand Ridge (Fig 1.1A). To the west, it includes the area to the north-east of Brackley, which straddles the headwaters of the Ouse and Nene, and to the east it extends to just below the confluence with the Ivel, beyond which lie the Fens. Ordnance Survey maps were used to identify the 130 parishes within the defined area, which lie within the counties of Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire, and the Unitary Authority of Milton Keynes (Table 3.1A).

Of necessity, the research focussed on two main groups of excavations, the first of which cover the designated area and wider unitary authority of Milton Keynes. The second group encompasses a more loosely defined area around the town of Bedford, which is located downstream and some 25 km to the east of Milton Keynes. Although the two areas were mainly dug in different phases, and archaeological methods and interpretations have moved on during this period, all the excavation reports used were rigorously selected in order to make comparisons possible.

3.3 Levels of data and analysis

3.3.1 Collecting the data

Two main data sets were identified for this research, SMR records and excavation reports. SMR records provided a framework showing the general distribution of sites and artefacts of different periods, and indicated sites for which excavation reports are available. A large proportion of this information consisted of antiquarian, random or metal-detecting finds, or material from earlier (pre 1970s) excavations, which were less rigorous than more recent ones. As a result, sites and finds were rarely closely dated, and frequently listed merely as IA or RB in the SMRs. The data collected from SMRs comprised all available information on the LIA and the RB periods, and was collected up to the end of 2002.

Excavation reports provided more detailed information about individual sites, and formed the basis of more profound analysis. Two large corpora of excavation reports were available, covering Milton Keynes, and the vicinity of Bedford. Many of the latter are still (2007) available only as ‘grey literature’ from archaeological units, mainly Albion (formerly Bedfordshire County Archaeological Service). These were supplemented by reports from smaller investigations and by county and national journals, and the bulk of the collection was undertaken between 2000 and 2004. Published works up to the end of 2006 were also collected, but owing to the increasing volume of PPG16 work, comprehensive coverage was not possible. Two supplementary sets of information were used, IA coins and cropmarks, and in addition, a limited amount of field-walking was undertaken. All three are described further below.

3.3.2 Levels of data and analysis

It was clear that an extensive and valuable array of data, of varying quality, was available. In order to take advantage of this resource, the following four levels of data and analysis were identified:

Level 1: consisted of the information collected from the SMR offices, which was scrutinised to establish which excavated sites would be worthy of further examination and constitute the Level 2 data.

Level 2: information from the selected excavation reports was recorded in two spreadsheets, for the LIA and RB periods. These were analysed and the patterns revealed form the contents of Chapters 4 and 5.

Level 3: the Level 3 data were the less reliable records in the SMR (Level 1) data, together with the information on cropmarks and IA coins. Results of the Level 3 analysis were used to extend the results of Chapters 4 and 5 and are discussed in Chapter 6.

Level 4: the Level 4 analysis comprised the regional comparisons between the study area and adjacent regions.

3.4 Level 1 data and analysis

3.4.1 Recording the data

The data obtained from the SMRs were compiled in an Excel spreadsheet which ultimately comprised around 1730 records. In the case of excavation reports, brief details only were recorded on the spreadsheet, since the reports themselves would be used in the detailed analysis. Each record in the spreadsheet included information under the headings in Table 3.2. At this stage, the site characterisation used was that already allocated in the SMR records (unless deemed obviously incorrect). Table 3.3A gives the more detailed characterisation of the find or site.

Table 3.2 Level 1 data: general headings

1	Local authority
2	SMR/HER number of site or find
3	Name of site: for example, name of farm or field where site/find is located
4	Parish where site or find is located
5	Site classification (the type of find – settlement, burial, ritual)
6	Site characterisation (where possible, each classification subject is broken down further, for example, settlement types include villa, farmstead, small town etc)
7	Dating of site, as accurately as possible, eg a site might be classed as RB in the SMR, but it was frequently possible to allocate finds such as coins or pottery to a particular century
8	Site size
9	National grid reference (to centre of site)
10	Method and date of discovery (antiquarian, random or metal detecting find, aerial photography, excavation, etc) which will indicate the potential reliability or otherwise
11	Brief description of site or find
12	Source references where available

3.4.2 The Level 1 analysis

The Level 1 analysis consisted of selecting suitable excavation reports for the Level 2 data, for which the criteria are discussed below. In total, just under 80 excavation reports were selected for further analysis. As the dating of excavation reports needed to be as rigorous as possible, those, for example, which referred merely to ‘IA’ or ‘RB’ activity were discarded as of little use. Furthermore, in order to make comparisons between sites, reports with clearly defined chronological phases were required. For example, in examining ceramic evidence, while the presence of samian wares in later first and second century contexts was common, where found in third and fourth century phases, it was much rarer, and may therefore have indicated curation, for whatever reason.

Data, even if not quantified, needed to be available in a form which could be used for comparison. Aspects of burial and ritual, for example, were easier to deal with than were ceramics, as quantification was not generally required, and qualitative analysis, noting presence or absence, was sufficient. It was particularly important for this research to have as fine a dating as possible for the pre-conquest, post-conquest and later first century phases, for this half century or so would be the most crucial for observing the effect of the advent of Rome.

An initial challenge, highlighting the issue of classifying archaeological phases by the type of pottery present, was the interpretation of the term 'Belgic', and, to a lesser extent, 'Iron Age', when referring to ceramics (see definitions below). Although in more recent reports this was only applied to particular types of pottery or burial, older publications used it to apply to archaeological phases in the culture-historical sense, as a phase which was neither Iron Age, nor Romano-British (Thompson 1982: 1). These reports, if there was no other form of verification used, such as coins or brooches, were rejected for this analysis. An example of inaccurate dating was the rich burial at Felmersham (Sharnbrook), near Bedford. This was listed in the SMR as being of LIA date, and Bristow, in his study of prehistoric burial rites, also placed it in this period, since it was classified as Belgic when excavated a century ago (Bristow 1998: Vol 2, 76). However, it was salutary to discover that Thompson had reclassified the finds as early Roman (AD 50-60) after visiting Bedford Museum, and recognised the whole assemblage as ERB in date (Thompson 1982: 700).

It is now known that Belgic fabrics and assemblages occurred from the late first century BC onwards, and in some rural locations up to at least AD 100, for example, Finmere in Oxfordshire, on the south-western periphery of the study area (Grundon 1999: 35). Marney extended this to the early second century (Marney 1989: 90). In some areas, such as Leicestershire, wheelmade La Tène ware is not found at all (J Taylor, pers.comm.). It is therefore inappropriate to use the term 'Belgic' as a chronological marker to distinguish either the LIA period itself or the material culture of that period. In order to make these distinctions clearer, the following two definitions have therefore been adopted in this study.

Definition of Late Iron Age pottery

The term 'Belgic' refers to both the fabrics and the forms of the new tradition of pottery appearing in Britain in the LIA from around 50 BC, most of these vessels being wheel-thrown (Thompson 1982: 4-5). Following Evans, who employs 'wheelmade LIA tradition' to encompass Belgic and Aylesford-Swarling types, this research will refer to these ceramics as LIA (Evans 2003: 224). However, analysis of ceramics from the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley indicates that there were several transitional types, for example, Belgic forms in hand-made fabrics, and these were also be included in the category 'LIA'.

Definition of Iron Age pottery

In this study, hand-made pottery of the MIA tradition is classified as 'IA'. Essentially, the difference between IA and LIA assemblages, apart from method of manufacture, is that the latter contained a wider range of vessel types (2.7.4). The timing of the uptake of LIA ceramics varied both from place to place, and according to context. For example, IA ceramics are known to continue into the later first century AD in some northern East Anglian and East Midlands sites (Evans 2003: 224). It is now accepted that IA pottery cannot be seen as dating solely to the MIA, or even LIA, period, in the same way as Belgic pottery is no longer viewed as solely a LIA phenomenon, as already discussed.

3.5 Level 2 data: site information

3.5.1 Introduction

The selected excavation reports were the source of the Level 2 data, comprising basic site information, discussed below, and thematic data, which are covered further in succeeding chapters. Appendix 3 comprises a gazetteer detailing all Level 2 sites, and those Level 3 sites for which sufficient information is available.

3.5.2 Dates and phases

Separate spreadsheets were used for the LIA and RB data for ease of handling. However it should not be inferred from this that there was a sudden change between the two periods: change will have taken place on a continuum and influence will have been felt well before the conquest in some places, much later in others, and in varying spheres of life.

For the LIA phase, it was generally not possible to distinguish between earlier and later LIA dates, and all such sites were therefore recorded simply as 'LIA'. Closer dating was generally available for the RB period, and initially, ten RB periods were chosen in order to take advantage of this. However, activity on a site usually overlapped several of these periods, which made comparisons between sites difficult. For this reason, a second list of phases was also used, based on centuries. Phases covering both the late first century and second century were classified as second century. Where a phase overlapped three centuries, the middle one was used. In the case of the LRB period, sites which were occupied during both third and fourth centuries were classified as third century only, and only sites apparently new in the fourth century were allocated to the latter. This clearly introduces some bias against the number of fourth century sites, which should be borne in mind. However, the LRB period was not the main focus of this research. Future work in this field could gain a more accurate estimate of relative site numbers by using Faulkner's methodology of allocation of sites to chronological divisions (Faulkner 1996).

The simplified classification still accommodated second century change, particularly useful for burial analysis. However, for detailed examination of individual sites, the finer dating was still available if required. Table 3.4 incorporates both.

Table 3.4 RB periods and phases

Period number	Date	Century phase
1	Claudian (AD 43-54)	10
2	Neronian (54-68)	10
3	Flavian (69-96)	10
4	1 st century (post-conquest)	10
5	early 2 nd century	21
6	mid 2 nd century	22
7	late 2 nd century	22
8	2 nd century	20
9	3 rd century	30
10	4 th century	40

Each site was listed in the spreadsheet with a separate record for each phase. Where a feature was dated more precisely than the phase in which it was located (for example, a pottery assemblage dating to the mid-second century might be shown in a general second century phase in a report), it was given a separate entry.

3.5.3 Size and type of site

Sites were categorised for size and type in order that appropriate comparisons could be made. The size categories employed were those recommended (J.Taylor, pers.comm.) as Size 1 (0-2 ha), Size 2 (2-6 ha) and Size 3 (over 6 ha). Size of site was that given in excavation reports, or estimated from cropmark size. However, size can only be approximate in most cases, since many sites are not completely excavated, and their full extent is often uncertain.

Sites with no visible associated settlement, for example, burials excavated in field systems, were defined as Size 1. The sites were also classified for type where possible, either according to the categories given by the excavators, or otherwise a judgement was made as to the most appropriate category.

A dual categorisation of sites giving both size and type would have been too cumbersome when correlating site with find categories. Therefore Table 3.5, which lists site definitions in conjunction with size, was prepared.

Table 3.5 Site size and/or type

Site type	Definition
1	Size 1 site (farmstead)
2	Size 2 site (medium sized settlement, village)
3	Size 3 site (larger settlement, small town)
4	Villa
5	Villa/temple
6	Temple/shrine
7	Isolated burial(s) with no apparent settlement nearby
8	Cemetery associated with settlement
9	Cemetery with no known settlement nearby
10	Possible ritual site (many finds of votives, including metal items and coins)
11	Possible high status/villa site
12	Elite burial

The presence or absence of particular items of material culture at different type sites in the study area can then be compared to standards for other RB sites elsewhere. Studies of assemblages of artefacts have revealed interesting variations in those found in military sites, major and minor towns, and villas and other rural sites. For example, while mortaria, amphorae, samian and glass reached those sites in descending amounts, patterns for toilet instruments were the reverse. While the former were more likely to denote Roman identity, the latter had been introduced to Britain during the LIA period and therefore could not be regarded as Roman (Mattingly 2006: 472-473).

3.5.4 Recording the themes

Once the basic site records were entered in the spreadsheets, decisions on how to record thematic information were necessary. This came under the headings of material culture (architecture, ceramics, items related to literacy) and symbolic behaviour (burial, ritual and religion). Architectural, ceramic and burial traditions are known to have differed over time and space, and therefore constitute chronological as well as spatial indicators. However, ritual activity is not always datable, and is therefore more useful to show continuity or otherwise, as well as spatial distribution. Few sites produced evidence in all categories.

Reasons for recording these themes, and the method of recording, are described below in more detail (3.6; 3.7).

3.6 Level 2 data: material culture

3.6.1 Architecture

A general trajectory of architectural change in the study period, together with the possible meaning of roundhouses, has already been discussed (2.7.2). Roundhouses are sometimes difficult to date, in the absence of any ceramics (Wilson 1997: 9-10) and their purpose is uncertain: apart from domestic use, they may have served as shrines, agricultural or storage buildings, corndriers or workshops. They also varied considerably in size (6 to 16 m in diameter), and in layout (Keevil and Booth 1997: 32, 37-38). Rectangular buildings, especially those of LIA and first century (R) date, were an indicator of influence from the south, and roundhouses of RB date demonstrated retention of traditional building techniques. The presence of architectural elaboration, ranging from ceramic building material to baths or mosaics, suggests a building of higher than average, or possibly, villa, status.

The following were therefore recorded:

- 1 Building shape (round, square or rectilinear)
- 2 Construction materials (wattle and daub, timber, stone foundations or all stone)
- 3 Architectural elaboration.

Specific types of architectural elaboration found at each site, for example, flue tile, were recorded in the spreadsheets. A separate column also recorded the level of elaboration which the individual finds gave the site. These levels were classified as shown in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6 Architectural Elaboration

Level	Definition
AE0	Structures present, but no architectural elaboration evident.
AE1	Ceramic building material, bricks, plain plaster
AE2	Painted plaster, hypocaust/flue tile, dressed stone, <i>opus signinum</i> , window glass
AE3	<i>Tesserae</i> , baths, architectural sculpture (with or without any of the above)

The term ‘*tessera*’, found in conjunction with other elaboration, was used to distinguish high status buildings. However, *tesserae* could have been used to pave a plain tessellated corridor: while this would be of higher than average status, it would not have been of mosaic standard. For example, coarse tessellated floors at Piddington contained *tesserae* up to 38 mm in size, but the (only) figured mosaic employed much smaller cubes (Ward 1999: 45). At Bancroft villa, the mosaic in Room 8, which exhibits a high standard of workmanship, consisted of 10 mm cubes, while less fine mosaics used 30 mm (Smith 1994: 252). Therefore care needed to be taken in the use of *tesserae* as an indicator.

Villas and high status buildings also required rigorous definition. At least three different meanings have been ascribed to the term ‘villa’ at different times (Smith 1997: 11):

- 1 the house alone
- 2 the house and adjoining buildings, perhaps within an enclosure or courtyard
- 3 the whole estate, including land, outbuildings and dwelling.

This research employs the second definition. Villas were characterised by the presence of luxuriously appointed rectangular stone-built rural buildings, that is, the highest level of architectural elaboration (AE3), together with evidence of a villa type design (Dark and Dark 1997: 43-45; Hingley 2004: 333). A second category of ‘high status building’ includes such sites with no evidence of a villa floor plan.

3.6.2 Ceramics

Considerations

Ceramic data were by far the most complex to record and analyse, for a number of reasons. Several factors affect the utility of a pottery assemblage: first, an assemblage might not be representative of a whole site. Ploughsoil assemblages, derived from a whole site, could be more representative than finds from specific excavated contexts (Taylor 2004: 60). However, such assemblages would be of no use in comparing sites of the same period, for which dated and/or stratified ceramics are required. Furthermore, excavation reports vary in that some catalogue ceramics from the whole site, regardless of location, while others list only those from specific, usually burial, contexts.

The issue of residuality must also be considered. Most sites with long-term occupation will have earlier deposits likely to have been disturbed by later activity, leading to problems with dating and distortion of results (Willis 1993: 45-46). In addition, ritual and burial contexts frequently contain curated vessels (Biddulph 2005: 38). Finally, the size of the assemblage must be considered. Following Willis (1996: 182), assemblages smaller than 50 sherds were not considered reliable enough for quantification, and were only used to indicate presence or absence of fabrics and forms. The percentage ‘0.1’ was used to indicate presence.

For full analysis of pottery fabric, form and method of manufacture, the quantification of ceramics was required. However, few reports quantified, drew or described all the ceramics excavated, and therefore it was rarely possible to calculate the total number, or proportions, of vessels in a phase. Hill, for example, resorted to counting the number of vessels in an illustrated catalogue and using the resulting figures for quantification of vessel forms (Woodward and Hill 2002: 159).

Even if quantification of pottery had been undertaken, there was no consensus on the use of vessel, sherd or weight, rendering comparison difficult, for there are disadvantages to each method (Pitts 2004: 18; Willis 1993: 38). Research is constrained by the data available, and the pragmatic solution was to use the method which predominated – sherds – for fabric quantification, with, in the cases where vessels alone were employed, using those as a proxy for sherds. Willis noted that the three methods show a high level of correlation, providing a sufficiently large sample is used, that is an assemblage of at least 50-100 sherds (Willis 1993: 38, 43). This is corroborated by the figures from Norse Road, Bedford, where RB fabrics, quantified by both vessels and sherds, are remarkably similar, and from Cotterstock villa, where weight and sherds give very similar percentages (Edgeworth 2001: 13; Upex 2001: 79).

However, quantification by sherds is only of use for fabric quantification. For quantification of vessel form, an estimate of vessel numbers is obviously required. In some 75% of cases, this was not available, and presence or absence was used instead. This also applied to unquantified fabrics. Thus, following Willis (1993: 46-48), ceramics were to a large extent recorded qualitatively, rather than quantitatively.

Wherever possible, the context of pottery finds was noted, for example, related to kiln or burial, or where deliberate deposition appeared to have taken place. Some excavation reports list all pottery found in a particular phase of a site, regardless of context. Others give detailed contextual information. Ceramics from burials or ritual deposits, for example, are very likely to be different from those deposited via more mundane activities, such as routine rubbish disposal. Vessels found in or around kilns would not necessarily be representative of those used elsewhere on a site. For example, some of the LIA Stagsden kilns contained only hand-made pot – yet wheel-made LIA pots were present elsewhere at this period on the site (Dawson 2000a).

The method of manufacture was also relevant. For the early period, this can indicate the extent to which an area – or an individual site – was conservative, or instead took on new ideas from outside. As already noted, while MIA pots – called IA in this research – were by definition hand-built, those of the LIA could be made by either method, or by a combination of both methods, the rim only being wheel-thrown. The method of manufacture was not noted in many reports, for this is not easily distinguishable if undiagnostic sherds only are available. However, for the LIA period only, the proportions of both types were recorded wherever possible, or presence or absence was noted.

Fabric types

In preliminary analyses of the ceramic fabrics, it rapidly became clear that Milton Keynes and Bedfordshire excavations employed different type series. During the 1970s and 1980s, the MK

excavations resulted in a series developed by Marney, which has since been used unchanged by most of the excavations in the area (Marney 1989). The more recent Bedfordshire excavations of the 1990s onwards are resulting in the development and refinement of a Bedfordshire series, which unfortunately does not cross-reference with that of Milton Keynes. After comparing many pottery analyses, a table of equivalences has been drawn up for reference when distinguishing corresponding fabrics for this research (Table 3.7A). Reports on adjacent areas, such as Potterspury in Northamptonshire, use the Milton Keynes fabric series, and further to the west, the A43 sites use only basic types of fabric description which can easily be aligned with the major fabric series (Meek *et al* 2000; Mudd 2002).

The proportions of IA and LIA fabrics were recorded for both LIA and RB periods, because the presence of large proportions could suggest a more conservative society, or one having less contact with areas using the new traditions of pottery. IA fabrics were usually identified in pottery reports. LIA types have been listed in separate categories, following Thompson's 'Belgic' types which formed the basis of the LIA fabrics in Marney's Milton Keynes classification (Marney 1989). These types were defined according to the tempering material in the fabric, which was grog (crushed pottery, added to clay to make it more malleable), shell, grog and shell, or grog and sand. Fabrics not falling into these groups were listed as 'other LIA'.

The different types of LIA fabric mentioned above were recorded separately in the light of Thompson's observations about fabric tempering. Her Area 8, which lies approximately between Bletchley and Northampton, was 'characterised by grog, shell, and mixed grog and shell tempering'. Area 8 intersects with Area 7, Hertfordshire and the Chilterns, which was dominated by grog. A large part of the study area – Bedford to Sandy and the land to the south – therefore comes within this overlapping and marginal area (Fig 3.1A). Thus Odell, in North Bedfordshire, is 'on the northern boundary of grog tempering: grog, shell and mixtures of grog with shell or sand (Thompson 1982: Map 1, 16, 790). Examination of Thompson's patterning and how far this pertains to the study area is relevant to questions of incoming traditions. Furthermore, the distribution of these types will indicate possible peripheral areas. For this reason, the proportions of grog-tempered fabric, shell-tempered, mixed grog and shell or grog and sand, were noted.

Continental imports were listed as an index of early contact, direct or indirect, with the Roman world, and also of wealth or status, for while IA and LIA fabrics were almost invariably locally produced coarsewares, continental fabrics would have been finewares, except for amphorae and mortaria. LIA imports into Britain came in two main types, *terra sigillata* and Gallo-Belgic ware. The former (referred to as samian in this research) was first made from the mid-first century BC, in northern Italy, mainly Arezzo, hence the name Arretine. Vessels began to reach south-east Britain around 20 BC. By the end of the second century, the industries were in

decline and little samian reach Britain beyond the early third century. Meanwhile, Gallo-Belgic ceramics (*terra rubra*, *terra nigra*, and whitewares) reached Britain from northern Gaul (Rheims, Trier) from around 10 BC, but are rarely found in pre-Claudian contexts (Tyers 1996: 51-71).

Continental imports are particularly significant in the LIA period, as indicating pre-conquest contact with the continent, or more likely, indirectly, perhaps via the LIA centre of Skeleton Green, Braughing. In addition, Gallo-Belgic imports to Puckeridge and Braughing were imitated by potters in Hertfordshire, however, few of these copies seem to have been received in the MK area at least (Marney 1989: 89).

With the above in mind, it was decided to focus on the following aspects of ceramic fabrics:

- 1 The retention of IA and LIA types into succeeding periods, as an indication of conservatism, or resistance to new fashions.
- 2 Types of tempering used in LIA fabrics, in line with Thompson's research.
- 3 Continental imports: Gallo-Belgic and samian for the LIA and first century (R), as an indication of early contact.
- 4 Samian, for the whole RB period, in order to view the type of sites which it reached.
- 5 Samian in LRB contexts which might denote deliberate curation.
- 6 Soft pink grog fabric (see ceramic trading patterns) (3.10.2).

Vessel forms

The study of vessel forms is perhaps more revealing than that of fabrics, which, as already discussed, can depend on availability of raw materials, as well as on choice. They were therefore recorded as an indication of change or continuity in drinking and eating traditions.

Vessel forms were classified as follows:

IA forms: sometimes classified as MIA forms, these are usually clearly identified in pottery reports.

LIA forms: these were classified by Thompson as Belgic, and have since been known as 'IT' (Isabel Thompson) types. In this research, the IT types (pedestal urns, fine and coarse jars, bowls, cups, beakers, platters, and flagons) have been used to record the incidence of forms.

RB period: the 'IT' forms were also used for this period, as they continued, sometimes in developed form, with the addition of a few more specialised vessel types (samian, mortaria, amphorae, and pie or dog dishes).

Vessel assemblages of both LIA and RB periods were divided into three broad groupings in order to retrieve further information on prevailing foodways, as follows:

- Assemblage 1 A basic cooking and storage (kitchen) assemblage, consisting of coarse jars and bowls.
- Assemblage 2 A kitchen and drinking assemblage (the addition of drinking vessels: fine jars, small jars, cups, beakers and flagons, and amphorae).
- Assemblage 3 A kitchen, drinking and dining assemblage (the addition of serving and dining vessels – platters, dishes, pie dishes, or mortaria).

The presence of these assemblages would indicate the extent to which the new ceramics – and hence the new traditions of drinking and dining – had been adopted in the study area. The recognition of these categories is of course dependent upon the chance excavation of a particular type of vessel, and its identification by the excavators. For example, the only archaeological difference visible between Assemblages 2 and 3 for the LIA, is the presence of platters (and there could be only one of them). This is only a very crude guide: however, in conjunction with the presence or absence of finewares, samian, mortaria and amphorae, the type of assemblage can indicate the extent to which incoming foodways may have been adopted.

Drinking assemblages are different from Assemblage 2, for they do not contain kitchen ware. In order to view the presence of drinking assemblages as status indicators in early contexts, and any possible bias to wine or beer drinking, the drinking vessels proposed by Biddulph (2.7.4), were recorded: all types of beakers, cups, and flagons. Few if any amphorae were present during this period in the study area, neither were flasks observed, but the additional categories of pedestal urn and pedestal bowl were used, as they are thought to have been used to mix wine and water (Hill 2002: 147).

Amphorae and mortaria were also recorded. Amphorae were used for bulk transport of food and therefore not directly involved in its consumption. The contents – wine, oil, or *liquamen* – are believed to have been transferred to lighter, perhaps perishable, containers, for onward distribution. In the Rhineland and at *Vindolanda* wooden barrels are known to have been used, at the former certainly for wine, at the latter probably for beer (Mattingly 2006: 221, 514). Even in south-east Britain in the LIA, where a drinking culture existed, amphorae were rare, though occasionally present in LIA elite burials in the south and east (Pitts 2005: 145). By about AD 225, the import of foodstuffs in amphorae from the continent had ceased, and Britain may have become mainly self-supporting in foodstuffs from around then (Fulford 2004: 315).

Mortaria are assumed to have been used in the Roman manner for the preparation of food. They were generally infrequent in rural sites, except villas (Mattingly 2006: 475). However, because they are occasionally present in larger quantities in some rural sites than might be expected,

sometimes showing unusual wear patterns, it seems likely that they were not used in the conventional Roman way, or indeed for food preparation at all (Cool 2004: 32). This applies particularly to those made of samian or colour-coated wares, fabrics generally used for serving or dining rather than food preparation. They possibly acted as serving bowls, status symbols, or had some ritual purpose (Cool 2006: 32, 44-46). The presence of mortaria should not necessarily indicate the adoption of Roman foodways; nevertheless they do suggest the adoption of new identities and ways of eating, even if not fully in the Roman style.

3.6.3 Items associated with literacy

Literacy was a key factor in defining identity in some groups in the Roman empire (Mattingly 2006: 41) (2.7.5). However, it should not be forgotten that not only writing and reading had to be acquired, but also a knowledge of a new language, Latin. This would have entailed considerable effort or incentive, whether for purpose of status (Creighton 2000: 146-173), or simply for communication (Cooley 2002a: 12).

As noted in 2.7.5, a wide range of artefacts can indicate literacy and/or numeracy. Indirect evidence is provided by the presence of lamps and other lighting equipment, which had not been required before the new pursuits of reading and writing arrived (4.6.4). All such occurrences were noted in the RB spreadsheet; none, with the exception of IA coins, was visible in the study area for the LIA period.

3.7 Level 2 data: symbolic behaviour

3.7.1 Introduction

Symbolic behaviour encompasses matters relating to burial, ritual deposition and religious activity, discussed below, and also curation which is covered in detail in 6.8.3.

3.7.2 Disposal of the dead

The chronology of changing burial rites in Britain, and the topics of location of burial, and excarnation and other methods of disposal, were discussed in 2.8. Data which reflect these themes were recorded in the spreadsheets as shown in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8 Burial categories

Topic	Brief description
Rite	Cremation or possible cremation
	Inhumation
	Possible excarnation
Cemetery	(a) Two or more burials in close proximity, possibly formally organised (b) Dispersed
Isolated burial	Single isolated burial

Formal cemetery	Organised cemetery, bounded and/or aligned
Number and age of dead	Total number of dead, and presence of infants under one year
Whole or part of body	Decapitated burials (where apparently deliberate). Skulls alone, in burial or ritual, categorised as possible excarnation.
Grave goods	(a) Accompanied or unaccompanied burials (b) Intact, or broken/burnt grave goods

It is likely that there were other means of disposal, no longer archaeologically visible, which took place during both LIA and RB (2.8.4). All evidence of possible excarnation, in the form of disarticulated and fragmentary human remains (unburnt), whether in graves, ritual deposits, or scattered in the landscape, were recorded. The exceptions were those which appeared to represent disturbed inhumations. In addition to excarnated remains, all examples of the rites of cremation and inhumation were recorded.

Other aspects of burial identified as indicative of regional identity were also recorded: these were accompanied burials and intact grave goods, considered by Philpott (1991) to have occurred where LIA cremation had been practised, and unaccompanied burials, or those with burnt/damaged goods, deposited in areas where cremation was not used (2.8.3). In addition, the presence of decapitated burials and hobnails or shoes, a LRB regional rural tradition, and the use of wood and stone furnishings as indicators of status and regional identity, were also recorded.

Wooden grave furnishings were defined as follows (Philpott 1991: 12):

- 1 Small boxes: usually contained some cremated remains and possibly small grave goods.
- 2 Caskets: small boxes, with bronze decorations, usually accompanied by valuable grave goods, and dating from around conquest time.
- 3 Boxes and chests were larger than caskets, usually undecorated, and held all the cremation deposit.
- 4 Coffins, frequently suggested by the presence of nails (but not hobnails).

Philpott distinguished five types of stone cist and stone-lined grave. Type 2, flat stones lining grave, with slabs over the body, and Type 3, partial lining of grave pit with upright stones, often around head and/or feet only, were the most common types found in the Jurassic belt, which borders on the north of the study area (Philpott 1991: 61, 65, Fig 20). The presence of stone furnishings of all types was recorded in the spreadsheets.

Finally, animals used in burial were recorded. Animal remains could be associated with burial as food for the dead, the remains of feasting at funerary rites or of animal offerings burnt on the

pyre, or other ritual practice, possibly sacrifice. The species of animal involved was noted where possible, in order to discover any particular bias. An analysis was also undertaken of status displayed in burial, defined as shown in Tables 3.9 and 3.10.

Table 3.9 Definition of wealth in burial (cremation)

Status	Description
1	Simple urned, unurned, or unaccompanied burial.
2	Grave goods of up to four pots, metal items, usually only brooches. Wooden boxes. (No glass, no imports except samian).
3	More than four pots, more metal items, glass, or bronze-decorated caskets.
4	More ornate burials – buckets, large assemblages of vessels, including metal and glass. Imported objects. Welwyn or other high status burial, barrow.

Table 3.10 Definition of wealth in burial (inhumation)

Status	Description
1	Unaccompanied
2	Simple grave goods, including use of ordinary wooden coffin
3	Precious metal grave goods, stone cists, lead-lined coffin, etc.
4	Sarcophagus or similar.

Burials were then analysed against these categories, and the status of each, or the highest status grave in each group was noted. This often represented only one of a number of burials, but in a number of (known) high status sites (Bancroft for example), there could be several such burials in each period. This is a relatively crude way of observing wealth in burial, and more nuanced analysis could be undertaken by examining each grave at a location, rather than that of the highest status.

Infant burials were recorded in order to observe any patterns in their location, context or status which might relate to the study area as a whole, or one of the case study areas. The description ‘foetus’ rather than ‘infant’ is used only when employed in the excavation report, and is not my own interpretation. Little attention has yet been given in archaeological reports to the subject of foetus disposal (Luke in prep: 188). This applies to both burial and ritual contexts, and is possibly due to the difficulty in distinguishing between foetuses and neonates: determining the exact gestational age of foetuses is difficult, due to variation in foetal bone size (Mudd 2002: 61). It may also be due to a lack of awareness of, or distaste at, such considerations, especially in earlier excavations. So the fact that there was little evidence in the study area – as with most archaeological topics – does not preclude its presence.

3.7.3 Ritual deposition

The umbrella topic ‘ritual deposits’ covers a wide range of activity. Ritual deposits can comprise, or constitute, foundation deposits, deposits of human, infant or animal remains, pottery and other items, which were sometimes deliberately killed or smashed. They could be located in pits, ditches, postholes, wells or shafts, house gullies or under buildings, and have been found at most IA and RB sites (Fulford 2001). These deposits were usually pits filled with materials deposited carefully, perhaps in a particular sequence (hence ‘structured’). The deposits were not necessarily made frequently or on a regular basis, but over a number of years (Hill 1996: 28).

It is the context of these finds – and the fact that large sherds from the same vessels were found together, rather than small fragments found with other rubbish, which look like sweepings – which suggest a possible ritual destruction. It has been suggested that animal remains found together with game (apart from deer antlers), fish and shellfish, not generally offered as votives, were probably domestic rubbish, which would aid the distinction of other animals not found with those types as possible votive deposits (Grant 2004: 384). Examples of most types of ritual deposit have been found in the study area. They have been recorded in the spreadsheets in the following categories: deliberately damaged items, human skulls, animal burials, and ritual deposits in general, which may, or may not, contain some of the former three.

Some artefacts, particularly ceramics, and frequently those deposited in burials, appear to have been deliberately broken, damaged or drilled. However, identification is not straightforward: for example, a pot could have been drilled for functional reasons, to serve as a strainer, a timing device, or even a money box (Fulford and Timby 2001: 293-297). Several reasons have been advanced for the ‘killing’ of items before placing them in a burial or ritual deposit, including the wish to destroy the ‘spirit’ of an item in order to release it to accompany the soul of the dead to the afterworld (Alcock 1980: 51, 62). All such examples, usually in the interpretation of the excavators, whether in burial, ritual deposits, or merely in ceramic assemblages, were therefore recorded.

Another type of ritual deposit is the animal burial, in which a whole or partly articulated animal was buried on its own, or with some other artefacts, but the animal was the focus of the burial. There are examples of most species of domestic animals being buried separately, and both domestic and wild animals and birds have been found in ritual pits and shafts (Woodward and Woodward 2004: 72). All apparent animal burials were recorded, and the species was also noted.

3.7.4 Religion

This section covers both the location of religious activity, and artefacts which may have been associated with it. Shrines and temples found in the study area are those identified by excavators in the majority of cases, and interpretation may differ. In general, archaeological evidence takes the form of either a building, or a ditched enclosure, often square, and possibly containing a structure of ephemeral nature, particularly in the LIA/ERB period. Later in the RB period, temples or shrines were frequently built of long-lasting materials, including stone and ceramic building materials, and are therefore more visible archaeologically. The presence of a large number of votive items, particularly of metal, is also associated with religious sites throughout the period of study. These sites are usually discovered by metal detection rather than excavation, and they are therefore discussed under the Level 3 analysis (3.9.4).

All artefacts with possible ritual or religious significance, whether votives such as miniature weapons, anthropomorphic representations, or attributes of deities, were recorded. Three categories of religious finds are of use for analysis. First, those from recent excavations, fully contextualised and dated, and included in the Level 2 data. Second, items found in less recent excavations, yet where the findsite is securely recorded in the SMR records. The third category consists of random or antiquarian finds from the SMR records. These rarely have a precise geographical or chronological provenance and can therefore only be dated stylistically. Nevertheless, they can indicate the presence in the vicinity of particular religious affiliations: an example from the study area is an intaglio of Diana from the parish of Shenley Church End (Table 6.32A). The last two categories are covered in the Level 3 data.

3.8 Level 2 analysis

3.8.1 Introduction

The categories described above were recorded in separate columns in the Level 2 spreadsheets. These were then examined for patterns and themes, using Geographic Information Systems (GIS), Excel charts and comparative tables as ‘tools’. The results of these analyses constitute Chapters 4 and 5.

3.8.2 GIS

GIS are computer-based techniques for the storing, analysis and display of spatial data. Based on the Level 2 Excel spreadsheets, GIS maps were the primary indicators of patterns. Initially, scatter plots derived from the Excel spreadsheet data were used to indicate various distributions. Any significant patterns were then explored more fully via GIS, which also enabled background information – geographical features such as river systems – and Roman roads to be displayed, to put the results in context. GIS analysis reveals primarily spatial patterning, and therefore can be used for inter-site comparisons. The main achievement of the GIS work was that, for a number

of topics, it distinguished divergent patterns in different parts of the study area. This led to the identification of the two case study areas.

3.8.3 The case study areas

The subdivision of the study area into two case study areas enabled a regional perspective to be obtained for all aspects of analysis, rather than a homogenised view for the whole Middle and Upper Ouse Valley. Note that these are purely arbitrary divisions, based on the nature of the evidence seen in the initial analyses, and in no way are they intended as discrete ‘regions’.

The two case study areas are Milton Keynes and the area to the west of the new city (henceforth MK), and the land around Bedford and to the east of that town (henceforth BD). The east-west division between the two areas has been taken as the point near Turvey where the Ouse veers off to the north and east in one of its huge meanders. This conveniently coincides with the administrative boundary of the MK Unitary Authority, and Bedfordshire County Council, although one site (Salford Quarry), which lies just inside the Bedfordshire boundary, has been included in MK, because it is part of a larger site extending from Broughton in an adjacent area of MK.

The BD and MK areas each represent approximately half the study area, as shown in Fig 3.2A. In BD the higher land to the north of the Ouse and the north east of Bedford has seen little development and therefore little archaeological exploration. Likewise, the far west, beyond Buckingham, has also been little explored; nevertheless it has produced some interesting information which must be taken into account, and has therefore been included in MK. Throughout Chapters 4 to 6, results are given for the area as a whole, followed by the case study areas.

3.8.4 Excel charts and comparative tables

Based again on the Level 2 spreadsheets, and now using the case study areas, Excel charts were used to show quantitative information such as numbers and proportions of stone buildings, or occurrences of different burial rite, found in the whole study area, and regionally, in MK and BD. The charts display patterns which can be seen at a glance, but for more detail of the individual sites involved, tabular data were employed.

However, the spreadsheets, and the GIS maps and Excel charts derived from them, could not capture the diversity shown within or between sites, particularly in terms of symbolic behaviour. Comparative tables were therefore used to show detailed finds, and for intra-site as well as inter-site, comparisons. For example, a major theme for which spatial analysis alone was not sufficient was that of ritual deposits, which varied considerably in contents and contexts

between and within different sites. Tabular data show greater detail, and are also more appropriate to information which changes over time rather than space.

In general, summary quantitative tables are contained in the text, while qualitative ones, containing more detailed description, can be found in the appendices.

3.9 The Level 3 data and analysis

3.9.1 Introduction

The Level 3 analysis closed the loop by using information from all sources, and producing a general survey of the whole area for the LIA/RB. The results form the subject of Chapter 6 and were used to answer the first two questions posed in Chapter 1.

A separate spreadsheet was prepared for the Level 3 data, based on the original Level 1 information. These data were necessarily recorded in less detail, and where differing from the recording of the Level 2 data, are described below. Information on many topics was tabulated, and in most cases the Level 2 results were also included, for comparative purposes. In order to distinguish between the two levels, Level 2 data were italicised.

The dating of many finds and sites in the SMR entries is insecure: although IA finds can usually be distinguished from RB, IA and LIA finds are often undifferentiated. Therefore finds or sites which are described in the SMR as ‘IA’ are only used where they appear to include LIA phases: for example, where this can be established from ceramic or brooch types. RB items are rarely closely dated in the SMR records and are therefore not broken down further in the Level 3 data.

3.9.2 Sites and settlements

Although recorded as separate sites in the SMR, it is clear that in many cases adjacent finds must represent one single (and probably sizeable) settlement. Thus Bartholomew, when reviewing Scott’s gazetteer of Roman villas, noted that the five buildings at Ashfurlong, Olney, were treated as separate sites, as were the many structures noted at Haversham (Scott 1993a; Bartholomew 1995: 416). Therefore, where there were a number of Level 3 sites in close proximity, as at Ashfurlong, Evenley, Haversham, and Willington/Cople, these were treated as one settlement.

‘Occupation sites’ have been defined as those with substantial amounts of ceramic building material, pottery, pits, ditches, or building stone. ‘Possible occupation sites’ are those where there is a dense scatter of pottery and/or tile, with or without other finds. This is to some extent a subjective judgement: a few sherds of pottery and/or fragments of tile have been disregarded, as they could merely represent rubbish deposited during field manuring.

3.9.3 Material culture

All evidence of structures, of whatever shape or material, was recorded in the Level 3 spreadsheets. Stone constructions were frequently noted in the SMR records, and it was possible to record two categories of construction. These were, first, stone and stone-founded buildings, where definite stone walls or foundations were observed, and second, possible stone buildings, where building or worked stone was present, alongside other RB dating evidence. Scatters of stone alone were not used as evidence. The presence of some type of architectural elaboration was sometimes visible, and, like villas and high status buildings, was identified as in the Level 2 analysis (3.6.1).

If reliable data on ceramics were limited for the Level 2 sites, this was even more the case with the Level 3 data. The SMRs rarely list more than 'IA', 'Belgic' or 'Roman' pottery. Samian ware is sometimes distinguishable, but as it was imported over a long period it would not be of use in indicating early imports, unless the specific form or source of the vessel were known. There is also negligible information on vessel forms. The Level 3 analysis was therefore limited to Gallo-Belgic imports, and amphorae and mortaria, together with particular regional wares to view trading patterns (3.10.2).

3.9.4 Symbolic behaviour

It was impossible to analyse burial practices for the Level 3 data to the same extent as that undertaken for the excavation reports, due to the lack of evidence retrieved, recognised and/or recorded. For example, imprecise dating means that the change from cremation in the earlier period to inhumation in LRB cannot be seen in the Level 3 data, and the location of burials in relation to settlement is also usually unknown. Nevertheless, all available evidence of disposal of the dead was recorded.

Ritual activity of all types, but particularly animal burials, was conspicuous by its absence in the SMR data. As for ritual locations, some temple or shrines sites were suggested in the records, but for the LIA and first century (R), if not later, the evidence was mainly a square or rectangular enclosure, of varying sizes, and single or double ditched. However, all types of ritual and religious locations can sometimes be identified by the presence of large numbers of votive offerings. There was a sharp increase in the deposition of artefacts and other items, whether in loss, rubbish disposal, or deliberate deposits, from the LIA onwards (Burnham *et al* 2001: 74). Where a mixture of LIA and RB coins and votives were found, as at Thornborough and Old Stratford, it is likely that these sites also had LIA origins (Curteis 2001:137-140). However, even where there appears to be LIA activity beneath a Roman period temple, as at Thornborough, this was not necessarily related to ritual. Actual continuity of ritual function needs to be proven, for example, by dating of votive material (Smith 2001:15-16). Formal religious symbols were found in the SMR records, as in the Level 2 data (3.7.4).

3.10 The wider landscape

3.10.1 Iron Age coins

Coinage is the most visible evidence of LIA activity. The use of coinage to identify population groupings has already been discussed (2.4.2), and the main purpose to which it was put in this research was to indicate contacts with other areas, and also possible ritual sites.

The IA coins used in this research were based on those listed by Curteis (2001). These had already been rigorously checked for any duplication or misrecording, and included information about the context of the finds, where available. Conveniently, all the counties which are the subject of this research were covered. However, his data was collected only up to December 1999. Thereafter, material found via my own research (new SMR entries, new excavation reports, Portable Antiquities Scheme, and Celtic Coin Index), has been added.

Very few coins have been found in excavations or dateable contexts, so it is often impossible to observe whether they were deposited pre- or post-conquest. There was a sharp rise in IA coin deposition immediately after the conquest, and a rapid decline during the Flavian period, and by the beginning of the second century they were no longer in circulation (Haselgrove 2006: 17). The post-conquest use, particularly of Cunobelin issues, was possibly because of a shortage of bronze coin in which to pay the troops (C.Haselgrove, pers. comm.).

Misleading interpretations might be the deposition of IA coins along Roman roads, or, in cases where IA coins were found in sites with RB ritual significance, there is the temptation of ‘projecting backwards’ and ascribing LIA ritual activity to such a site.

Table 3.11 Iron Age coin groups

Group	Name	Date range
1	Gallo-Belgic, and central Gaul (<i>Aedui, Bituriges, Pictones</i>)	C 175-50 BC
2	British (largely ‘North Thames’ (LX) group in the study area)	50 - 20 BC
3	South-east (<i>Trinovantes/Cantii</i>) (Addedomaros) and early Eastern Kingdom (<i>Trinovantes/Catuvellauni</i>) (Tasciovanus, Rues, Andoco)	30/20 BC - AD 10
4	Later Eastern Kingdom (Cunobelin)	AD 10 - 40
5	North-east (<i>Corieltavi</i>)	Late 1 st c BC onwards
6	West (<i>Dobunni</i>)	Late 1 st c BC onwards
7	Southern Kingdom (<i>Atrebates, Regni</i>)	Late 1 st c BC onwards
8	East Anglian (<i>Iceni</i>)	Late 1 st c BC onwards
9	South-west (<i>Durotriges</i>)	Late 1 st c BC onwards

Iron Age coins were classified according to Curteis (1996; 2001: 23-35), with additional information from Colin Haselgrove (pers. comm.) (Table 3.11). They were in the main recorded by parish, and not by precise location, in the sources.

3.10.2 Ceramic trading patterns

A number of fabrics were analysed separately in order to view regional trading patterns. Although Level 2 data was used in all cases, this was examined in Chapter 6 under the broader aspects of landscape and communication.

The first fabric was soft pink grog ware, a powdery and sometimes lumpy and crude fabric, which was used for large storage jars, as well as smaller jars and bowls (Marney 1989: 174-175). It is thought to have developed from LIA grog-tempered ware in the western part of the area, later in the second century AD (Marney 1989: 65). It is found in abundance in all sites in the MK area which were occupied after AD 160-170, and until the late fourth century (Booth and Green 1989: 82). The distribution extends mainly to the north and west of the Milton Keynes area, and although it was until recently thought to have been made in the Ouzel valley, a source has now been identified at Stowe Park (Taylor 2004: 63), 20 km to the west. Later work, based on field survey, has suggested three production zones (Taylor 2004) (6.11.2). The analysis of soft pink grog ware, based on Level 2 data, was undertaken in order to extend the area covered by Taylor and to see how far his observed patterns extended into the area to the north and east of *Magiovinium*, which his survey did not cover.

It had been noted that few ceramics from the south reached the study area as a whole (Dawson 2001: 37). Furthermore, Nene Valley colour-coats were less numerous in MK than those from the Oxford region, and mortaria also seemed to follow those patterns (N Cooper, pers.comm.). The proportions of these types in quantified assemblages were therefore recorded, in order to view their distribution patterns. Finally, it was decided to make a brief analysis of the amount of mortaria reaching the MK area from Mancetter/Hartshill. This information, covering ceramic trade from the north, together with that from the *Verulamium* area in the south, would indicate the extent to which Watling Street played a role in the trading patterns of the MK area.

3.10.3 Iron production

The relevance of iron production was not initially recognised in this research and it was the frequent occurrence of iron slag in the SMR reports for a particular part of the study area which roused my interest in the subject. These were recorded in the Level 3 data in order to explore the economic, social and political aspects of iron production, discussed in 6.12. Comprehensive surveys of iron production in the East Midlands were the main source of information for this topic (Schrüfer-Kolb 2000; 2004).

3.10.4 Cropmarks

A number of cropmarks were identified, traced, analysed and catalogued. The major source for these was the Bedfordshire SMR, which held aerial photographs in two categories, oblique black and white photos taken mainly in or before the 1980s, and vertical colour photos. The latter were obtained in 1996 when Bedfordshire County Council commissioned a county-wide survey (for reasons other than archaeology), which resulted in the recording of several thousand new cropmarks, an average of around fifty per parish.

The 1996 cropmarks had only been interpreted and planned by Bedfordshire County Archaeologists where they coincided with known archaeological sites, which accounted for a very small percentage. Because the interpretation and drawing of so many aerial photographs was considered beyond the skill and time constraints of this research, in general only the pre-1996 cropmarks, already drawn, were used. Therefore only a sample of the information for Bedfordshire was employed. In contrast, all suitable transcribed cropmarks available from the other SMRs were used.

Only cropmarks described as ‘clear’ in the SMRs were used, and it was decided to focus on complexes of two or more enclosures or other features. Altogether, around one hundred separate cropmark complexes were assembled. Once drawn, the cropmarks were categorised according to shape (following Edis *et al* 1989: 122-126), and archaeological finds (if any) made at each site.

It has been observed that pre-LIA cropmarks are usually curvilinear, LIA and RB mainly rectilinear, and RB settlements are generally more closely associated with trackways, although in some cases, earlier tracks may have continued in use (Fenner n.d.: 48-50). On this basis, the cropmarks were divided into the following chronological categories:

- 1 Prehistoric (before LIA)
- 2 LIA/RB unspecific (by form)
- 3 LIA (dated by excavation)
- 4 LIA and RB (dated by excavation and/or surface finds) (RB occupation sites are likely to show large quantities of pottery or ceramic building material, even if they have not been excavated)
- 5 RB only (evidence of RB occupation only).

Using these classifications, a list of the cropmarks and a catalogue of plans was compiled, some of which were used to illustrate specific points throughout the thesis. These included settlement or other activity not shown in the Levels 2 and 3 data, location of sites in relation, for example, to rivers, and possible interaction with prehistoric monuments.

3.10.5 Field survey

During the course of this research, the opportunity arose to undertake four sessions of fieldwalking. Two were organised by the Bedfordshire Heritage Officer, and two by myself. This small sample could in no way be representative of sites in the study area, but the ceramic finds were used to provide a broad chronological framework of sites already known in the SMR, and to check the quality of their data.

Three of the sessions were organised on a traverse and stint basis, and for the fourth ceramics were collected along a public footpath which crosses a known LIA and RB site and Scheduled Monument (Ashfurlong, Olney). Samples of all the ceramics obtained were examined by a specialist at the University of Leicester (Nick Cooper) in order to identify the major fabric types represented, thereby indicating the possible date of these sites. In addition, some collections made a few years ago, as part of my earlier studies in the area, have also been re-examined for dating evidence.

The results are recorded in Table 3.12A.

3.11 Level 4 analysis: regional comparisons

3.11.1 Introduction

In order to answer Question 3 (1.8), comparison of the major patterns revealed in the Level 2 and Level 3 analysis was made between the study area and its neighbours. It was clearly not possible to examine all sites in the comparative areas as had been done for the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley. There was, for example, little opportunity for quantification. Therefore, since it was impossible to undertake a thorough survey, a sampling method was used. The aim was to discover whether there was as much diversity elsewhere as in the study area, since this might demonstrate fluid or uncertain identity, or, conversely, comparative homogeneity might indicate a more secure identity. Differences in these patterns might also indicate whether these areas were treated differently by Rome. This analysis comprises Chapter 7.

3.11.2 Defining the comparative areas

The Ouse valley was compared with the following four adjacent areas (Fig 3.3A):

- 1 The North (much of Northamptonshire, from the Ouse and Nene watershed up to the south of the Welland valley)
- 2 The West (east Oxfordshire, that is, the Cherwell area, and the lands to the east, including an area of west Northamptonshire)
- 3 The East (up to the western Fen edge, *Durobrivae* (Water Newton) to *Duroliponte* (Cambridge))

3 The South (from the Greensand Ridge south to the Chilterns (North Hertfordshire and South Bedfordshire)).

The comparison was therefore between the ‘core’ south-east area which included the Chilterns, and three other regions, which were all, to varying extents, ‘peripheral’ to those communities, as was the study area. However they were probably less influenced by the South than was the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley, if only for reasons of propinquity.

3.11.3 Sources

Information of varying quality was available for the four comparative areas. Overall, more information for rural sites was available for the North, while in the South large and high status sites area better known. Synthetic surveys have been recently published for the East Midlands, which covers parts of the North and the East (north Cambridgeshire) as part of the Regional Framework (1.7), and for Northamptonshire itself (Cooper 2006a; Tingle 2004).

For the West, there were two main sources: first, a volume on Roman Oxfordshire (Henig and Booth 2000), which focussed more on the ‘traditional’ aspects of Roman Britain, such as military sites, villas and temples, and very little on other, less tangible, forms of behaviour, such as ritual deposition. Furthermore, this work gave little information on the Cherwell area, for that area has not been investigated to any extent: Bicester and the Alchester area appear to be the exceptions. Fortunately, the Regional Frameworks for Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire became available on-line towards the end of my research.

For the South, the East Anglian Framework covers Hertfordshire, and also south Cambridgeshire (in the East) (Brown and Glazebrook 2000). I was also able to consult the Baldock cemetery pre-publication texts (Fitzpatrick Matthews in prep; Burleigh in prep a; Burleigh in prep b), and Fincham’s works on the Fens (2000; 2001; 2004) were very useful. Recently, Extensive Urban Surveys for towns in Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire and Hertfordshire were published electronically, although unfortunately Buckinghamshire, Milton Keynes, Oxfordshire, and Cambridgeshire are not yet covered. All these sources were supplemented where appropriate by excavation reports on specific sites (such as the Raunds Survey (Parry 2006)). A wide range of sources was therefore available for this level of the research.

3.12 Strengths and limitations of the data

As this chapter has demonstrated, a wealth of information on diverse topics was available for the study area, as well as the comparative regions. While there are some limitations in the data, for example, the quantification of ceramics was not always possible, the *presence* of particular types at a site provided incontrovertible evidence of what reached, or was used, there.

Therefore, the most valuable information derived from the analyses relates to the presence of items, rather than their quantity.

Material culture such as pottery, ceramic building material, styli and religious votives are in general clearly recognisable, if not always contextualised. Burials are usually unmistakeable, at least in the case of inhumations. However, ritual behaviour is subjective and very much a matter of interpretation. For example, the possibility that RB populations might have continued IA practices such as excarnation or the ritual use of skulls, are relatively new concepts, and these items would not necessarily have been recorded or even noticed a decade or so ago, which might account for the bias towards such evidence, especially in the recent Bedfordshire excavations.

While these reservations must be borne in mind, there was nevertheless a huge range of variables which could be analysed via different methods in order to reveal spatial and chronological trends. This will be amply demonstrated in the following chapters.

Chapter 4: Exploring the patterns: site distribution, structures, and material culture

4.1 The Level 2 analysis: introduction

Chapters 4 and 5 comprise the Level 2 analysis, that is the results of investigation of the excavated sites. Patterns suggested by these rigorously excavated, recorded and analysed data are then compared with the less reliable information obtained from other sources, particularly the SMRs, in the Level 3 analysis.

The collection of data from the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley area has yielded a wide range of valuable information. The patterns seen in the Level 2 analysis are drawn out theme by theme: this chapter covers site distribution, structures and material culture, while Chapter 5 addresses symbolic behaviour. Chapter 6 covers overall conclusions for both Level 2 and Level 3 analysis.

4.2 Distribution, date and type of sites

4.2.1 Introduction

Fig. 4.1A shows all excavated sites considered suitable for analysis; the two clusters around Milton Keynes and Bedford (3.2) stand out clearly. The map also indicates that there are many more excavated sites to the south of the river than to the north. However, the former covers a much larger area (as the area to the north of the river only extends as far as the watershed), and far more archaeological investigation has taken place here, particularly as Milton Keynes is located entirely to the south of the Ouse.

4.2.2 Chronological and geographical distribution

Table 4.1 shows a chronological breakdown of all excavated sites, including settlement and burial. Because there was activity in some sites in more than one period, the total number of sites is less than the sum of the other columns. Third century sites include those which also have fourth century phases. Throughout, this means that the number of fourth century sites only represents those which are apparently new in that period, as noted in 3.5.2.

Table 4.1 Total excavated sites by date

	Total	LIA	1st c R	2nd c	3rd c	4th c
Study area	94	34	31	48	30	18
MK	54	13	18	32	18	11
BD	40	21	13	16	12	7

The second century has, where possible, been broken down into early and later phases (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Second century sites by phase

	2nd c gen	Early 2nd c	Later 2nd c	Total 2nd c
Study area	19	19	19	48
MK	11	13	16	32
BD	8	6	3	16

Chronological analysis reveals that while there was only a slight increase in the number of sites from the LIA period to the first century (R), there was a 50 percent rise during the second century, followed by a decline in numbers in succeeding centuries. On a regional basis, while the number of LIA sites in BD exceeded those in MK, the position reversed afterwards so that for the second century as a whole there were double the number of sites in MK than in BD.

In addition, it can be seen that far more second century sites existed in MK than at any other RB period there. The total declined at the end of the second century, and there were few new sites, but those that survived continued to the end of the LRB period. This trajectory, described as one of ‘expanding rural settlement’ followed by ‘settlement stasis’, was attributed to the fact that the area may have been fully exploited by the end of the second century (Zeepvat 1987a: 9-10).

Spatial analysis shows that LIA sites were widely dispersed throughout the study area. The only discernible pattern is that they occurred more frequently along the Ivel, and the Bedfordshire reaches of the Ouse, than they did on rivers in the MK area. During the second half of the first century, more sites appeared, and, in the west as well as in the east, there was a preference for a riverside location. In BD, there was no major shift in settlement pattern, and the rivers remained the focus of occupation. However, from the second century onwards, settlement in MK was no longer focussed on rivers, but on the new Roman road, Watling Street (Figs 4.2A, 4.3A).

An apparent exception is the number of sites near the River Ouzel (Lovat), where there were many more RB sites to the east of the river than to the west (Williams *et al* 1996: 83). This has since been accentuated by the Monkston excavations of the early 2000s. Yet this distribution may also have been influenced by the road network, if as suggested the *Magiovinium* to Ircchester road also ran to the east of the Ouzel (Zeepvat *et al* 1994: 51-2) (6.10).

The spatial pattern of excavated sites in both MK and BD is the result of a bias of excavation, as is the apparently empty territory on the borders of the two areas, and the land to the north of the Ouse. The Level 3 data will help to clarify this. However the temporal patterns are less likely to result from excavation bias, and may therefore reflect the actual settlement trends over time.

4.2.3 Settlement type and size

The Level 2 sites were classified by size and type, as discussed in Chapter 3, and as shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Site size and/or type

Site type	Definition
1	Size 1 site (farmstead)
2	Size 2 site (medium sized settlement, village)
3	Size 3 site (larger settlement, small town)
4	Villa (defined in 4.3.7)
5	Villa/temple
6	Temple/shrine
7	Isolated burial(s) with no apparent settlement nearby
8	Cemetery associated with settlement
9	Cemetery with no known settlement nearby
10	Ritual site
11	Possible high status/villa site
12	Elite burial

Appendix 3 contains the full list of Level 2 sites. Based on the categories defined in Table 4.3, the 94 locations listed for the whole period include:

- three villas
- one villa/temple
- one other RB temple and two elite burials
- two cemeteries, one with, and one without, settlement nearby
- seven sites with isolated burials(s)
- three large settlements.

The remaining sites were small or medium size settlements or farmsteads, the great majority of low status.

Table 4.4 shows the number of sites, together with their size at each period, and demonstrates, first, that the majority of sites throughout the period and study area were of Size 1. Second, a far higher proportion in BD than MK were of medium size (Size 2) (50 percent, compared to 12.5 percent). Therefore, in terms of site size, it is evident that there was a greater hierarchical divide in MK than in BD.

Table 4.4 Site size

	Study area				MK				BD			
Size	1	2	3	T	1	2	3	T	1	2	3	T
LIA	31	3	0	34	11	2	0	13	20	1	0	21
1cR	26	5	0	31	16	2	0	18	10	3	0	13
2c	32	12	4	48	26	4	2	32	6	8	2	16
3c	21	5	4	30	14	3	2	19	7	2	2	11
4c	10	4	4	18	6	3	2	11	4	1	2	7

T= total number of sites.

Overall, four settlements attained Size 3, and 12 reached Size 2, throughout the period. The larger sites are listed in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5 Larger sites

	MK	BD
Size 3	<i>Magiovinium</i> Stanton Low	Kempston Sandy
Size 2	Bancroft Villa Wavendon Gate Syresham Salford Quarry	Warren Villas (2 sites) Marsh Leys Areas 1 and 2 Biddenham Loop F10 and F13/14 Harrold Kiln Roxton
Totals	6	10

The Size 3 sites, with the exception of Stanton Low, which is a villa site, with possible ritual or religious significance (4.4.7; 6.7.2), and does not appear to be a nucleated settlement, are discussed below (4.3), while the remaining sites are described further in the appendix.

4.2.4 Summary

The main conclusions which can be drawn about the distribution of sites are, first, that more LIA sites were apparent in BD than in MK. Second, there was a marked increase in the number of sites in the second century, but only in MK. Third, while settlements in BD remained in the vicinity of rivers throughout the period, in MK roads became a major focus, especially Watling Street. Fourth, there was more evidence of a hierarchy of settlement size in MK than in BD. Fifth, that the great majority of sites throughout the study area and period were of Size 1. Finally, although the spatial distribution of sites could have been due to excavation bias, it is unlikely that this applied to the chronological patterns observed.

4.3 Large settlements

4.3.1 Introduction

The definition of a Roman small town has been frequently debated (Burnham and Wachter 1990; Brown 1995), and they vary a great deal in their nature (Taylor *et al* 2002a: 8); however there is general agreement that both *Magiovinium* and Sandy were small towns. Kempston, however, appears to be in a class of its own, as described below.

4.3.2 *Magiovinium*

Magiovinium does not appear to have had LIA origins, although there was occupation nearby of that date, at Saffron Gardens, on the other side of the Ouzel. A Neronian fort has been proposed here, but this is unproven, and it is thought that the town's development, during the later first century, was as a result of the construction of Watling Street, rather than any military presence. The town is known to have been walled, possibly in the late second or early third century, and the defences enclosed an area of 8 ha. *Magiovinium* extended along Watling Street to the east for a considerable distance, and the extramural area contained a number of regularly laid-out roadside plots, resembling those found in *Lactodurum* (Towcester) (Hunn *et al* 1997: 60-61) (Fig 4.4A).

Magiovinium appears to have been a settlement of relatively low status. Even in the second century, timber roundhouses were being constructed in the extramural areas, although there is also evidence for a couple of rectangular buildings nearer the core of the town (Neal 1987: 9, 18). This was, however, common in many small towns at this time (Mattingly 2006: 285). No public buildings, nor even stone constructions, are known at *Magiovinium*, but a recent excavation revealed flue tiles, painted plaster and fine-wares, leading to the suggestion that there may have been a *mansio* in the vicinity (I Lisboa, pers.comm.). The town, while it was involved in horse dealing and smithing, and iron working, remained poor and 'seedy', according to Neal (1987: 2). Nevertheless, it was sufficiently important to be listed in *Itinera* II, VI and VII of the Antonine Itinerary (Jones and Mattingly 1990: 25-27).

One reason proposed for the relative poverty of the town might be the fact that there were very few villas in the vicinity of *Magiovinium* (7.8.2), and that the more prosperous parts of MK lay some distance to the north. To the south, few if any settlements, let alone villas, are known between *Magiovinium* and the nearest Chilterns villa at Totternhoe. This has been attributed to the unsuitability for agriculture of the Greensand Ridge heathland (Neal 1987: 30-31). However, more recent excavations have revealed a string of sites just to the south of the Greensand Ridge (Eyeworth, Shefford, Harlington, Ruxox and Aston Well). Ruxox and Aston Well may also have been of villa status (Dawson 2004: 37). Nevertheless, this does not negate Neal's argument, for these sites lie some 15 km distant from *Magiovinium*.

4.3.3 Sandy

Sandy, like Baldock, lies on the by-road to Ermine Street, from Braughing to *Durovigutum*. However, unlike Baldock, Sandy does not lie on any confirmed east-west route (6.10). The town has been known as a Roman site for several hundred years, from antiquarian finds, and from excavations during the later twentieth century. LIA occupation has been found underneath the RB settlement, and an old stream course, where over 30 IA coins were deposited, has been suggested as an LIA religious focus (Dawson 1995: 175). Sandy was apparently undefended and information about structures is fragmentary, but most buildings were small, post-built on sleeper beams, and, later, some were stone-founded. A substantial dressed stone building found recently may have been a *mansio* (4.4.7).

Sufficient high status and possible religious items have been found, for example, the sculpture (Table 5.21A), possibly from a temple, to suggest that Sandy was a religious centre in the LIA as well as the RB period. There is also a great deal of burial evidence: cemeteries were found in at least three areas (Tower Hill, the municipal cemetery and Stratford Road (Edgeworth and Steadman 2003: 25-26)) and also in backland plots (5.2.3; 6.6.2) (Fig 4.5A).

While the layout of Sandy is obscure, recent aerial photographs and geophysical work have suggested that it had a regular layout and, furthermore, that substantial stone buildings remain to be excavated in the core of the Roman town (Edgeworth and Steadman 2003: 29). In conclusion, Roman Sandy, possibly already of high status in the LIA, appears to have been a relatively prosperous centre, where activity focussed on religion and burial as much as commerce. However, the extent to which it fulfilled any administrative functions is as yet unknown.

4.3.4 Kempston

Kempston, which lies to the south of the Ouse and the Biddenham Loop, is also a possible small town. Recent excavations in an area of mainly uninhabited farmland (unlike *Magiovinium* and Sandy) have revealed a settlement of over 20 ha at its greatest extent (Dawson 2004). Kempston appears to have developed from the late first century onwards and to have had no earlier occupation.

From the late first to mid-third century, the settlement covered an area of 6.8 ha. The main features were two roughly parallel north-south metalled trackways, and a grid of small enclosures oriented on the trackways. At least three buildings, one possibly partly of stone, and three possible funerary enclosures, were excavated. Many of the other enclosures produced evidence of occupation in the form of pits, postholes or wells, as well as cremations and one inhumation. This phase has been interpreted as the establishment of a new settlement, with land allotments, water provision, housing, and metalled tracks, in Roman style. The mid-third to

early fourth century saw extension of the settlement, still focussed on the trackways, more structures, two of which were stone and stone-founded, and the establishment of a formal enclosed cemetery. A possibly ritual polygonal building was also erected, near the cemetery (Fig 4.6A).

The gridded plan and the metalled trackways at Kempston are particularly unusual. In Northamptonshire it has been observed that towns spread along the roads on which they were situated, and had a pattern of trackways linking the centre of each settlement with its farmland (Taylor and Flitcroft 2004: 68-69). However, not only is there no proven Roman road serving Kempston (6.10), but access to surrounding farmland would have been difficult, as farm workers would have needed to pass through the whole settlement to reach it.

Kempston was initially seen as a large village comprising several small farms within a street grid (Dawson 2000c: 125). Dawson's most recent interpretation is that it was a planned settlement, on newly enclosed land, established in the later first century AD, possibly by local elite. It appears to have been of moderate status, with a few wealthier members, but in the main conservative in its uptake of new traditions, as demonstrated by the familiarity with Roman building methods and some use of stone, but also its relatively slow uptake of ceramics. It may have been first, attached to a villa estate, second, a veteran establishment, or, third and combining both, a veteran community of auxiliaries providing the workforce for an estate.

This conclusion was reached for a number of reasons: first, the land allotments were not large enough for arable or pastoral use, and, as already noted, access to surrounding land would have been difficult. Therefore it was unlikely that inhabitants worked their own land holdings in the vicinity. Second, men outnumbered women and children (3:1) in the Phase 3 burials (late second to early fourth century) (Dawson 2004: 348), although there was less evidence for Phase 2. Third, skeletal evidence reveals that many of the dead had injuries consistent with heavy work and/or violence (Dawson 2004: 65-66).

Of Dawson's three scenarios, the first is most unlikely, as no villa, yet alone villa estate, has been proven in the Kempston area, or even BD (4.4.8; 6.3.2). Dawson himself admits that there was no likely site within 2 km of the settlement at Kempston (Dawson 2004: 66). The second is also doubtful, for if this were a veteran establishment, and if these were retired legionaries, they are likely to have received a grant of land, unlike auxiliaries (Mattingly 2006: 192), which is inconsistent with Dawson's own view that occupants did not have their own land nearby. The third scenario is possible, on the basis that retired auxiliaries were less likely to receive a reward of land. Yet there does not appear to be any real evidence for incomers, apart from the relatively early appearance of Roman building methods, possibly in the early second century, which was

not uncommon in the study area as a whole, if not in BD. The conservatism in ceramics (Dawson 2004: 66), implies local people rather than incomers.

A fourth possibility, not given by Dawson, is that some of the inhabitants were enslaved. It has been suggested that bodies showing evidence of hard labour might have belonged to slaves (Webster 2005: 178), and therefore possibly some of the occupants at Kempston could have come into this category. The status of Kempston is discussed further in 8.7.

4.3.5 Summary

The three towns in the study area apparently had little in common. In MK, the new foundation at *Magiovinium* was a workaday settlement of apparently lowly status, servicing Watling Street. Sandy, possibly already a significant ritual centre in the LIA, was perhaps more prosperous, and significant for reasons of burial, ritual and religion in the RB period, although situated on a less important thoroughfare. Meanwhile, the nature of the settlement at Kempston remains enigmatic. However, further excavations which have very recently taken place might eventually elucidate this. All three towns are discussed further in later chapters.

4.4 Material culture: architecture

4.4.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 has described the overall trends in architectural change during the study period and this section attempts to view the extent to which the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley conforms to, or deviates from, this trajectory.

4.4.2 Evidence for structures

Evidence for buildings was limited in the early periods, particularly in the LIA. This may have been because materials have disappeared: perhaps ‘mass’ walls of turf or cob, carrying a timber roof or superstructure, and not requiring a posthole, were used instead (Hardy and Cropper 1990: 13). Rectangular buildings may have been more common at this early date, but if they did not have drip gullies, and were built solely of timber, they might not have been preserved either (Williams *et al* 1996: 24, 86).

Table 4.6A lists LIA occupation sites with evidence of structures, and reveals that a total of 12 sites (37.5% out of 32) produced evidence of buildings. All but the example from Warren Villas were circular, and varied in diameter between 6m and 15m, and therefore were of a very similar size range to those recorded for the RB period by Keevil and Booth (3.6.1). The average diameter appears to be about 10 m.

There is some evidence from MK, but not BD, that buildings were more ephemeral in the LIA period than in either preceding or succeeding periods. For example, in the MIA and ‘pre-Belgic’

periods at Bancroft mausoleum, there were around 15 roundhouses. Occupation continued in the LIA period, judging by settlement debris, but there was one (possible) roundhouse only. Likewise, at Wavendon Gate, there were roundhouses of earlier, and later (first century (R)) date, but none of the LIA (Williams *et al* 1996: 24). Monkston also produced no LIA structures, in spite of a great deal of other settlement activity (Davis and Bull 2004: 27-8). Salford Quarry had MIA roundhouses, but none of LIA date, although there is evidence of LIA activity in the form of cremations (Clark 1991: 13-15; Clark 1990a: 8-9). Perhaps mass walls, rather than post-built structures, were in use in these LIA sites.

There is one definite, and one possible, example of rectangular LIA buildings in the study area, both in BD. At Warren Villas, in the Ivel Valley, there was a small post-built structure, about 4m by 3m. Two further postholes inside perhaps represent the remains of partitioning (Dawson and Maull 1996: 62). The rectangular building at Marsh Leys Area 1, interpreted as a possible shrine, was found in an LIA/RB phase, and although recorded in Table 4.8A as being of first century (R) date, could have originated in the LIA (Albion 2002b: 22).

For the RB period, the percentages of settlements with evidence of structures are as follows:

First century (R)	35%
Second century	58%
Third century	47%
Fourth century	28%.

There was little if any distinction between the case study areas. The high proportion of sites lacking structural evidence could be partly due to destruction by human or natural agency (for example, agriculture or alluviation). However, the figures suggest that ephemeral construction methods were still being used in the first century (R), and even in the succeeding centuries when more permanent materials, such as ceramic building materials, was available. Buildings dating to the RB period are discussed below in more detail.

4.4.3 Building shape

The retention of roundhouses into the RB period has been attributed to a number of reasons, varying from the functional (agricultural purposes), via subjugation of non-elite by ruling groups, to a simple preference for earlier traditions. It has also been noted that rectangular buildings were already present in the LIA in south-east England (2.7.3). This section examines the evidence for change in building shape throughout the period, with particular emphasis on the presence of LIA and first century (R) rectangular, and LRB circular buildings, as expressions of identity.

Figures 4.7, 4.8 and 4.9 below present the overall distribution of round, as opposed to rectangular, structures of RB date (note that rectangular is used to include all rectilinear buildings). Roundhouses were present during the whole period, and not just the earlier stages, while rectangular buildings were present from the first century (R) (and earlier, see below). Of the seventeen rectangular buildings identified for the second century, six have been dated to the early second century. Overall, there was a sharp rise in the percentage of rectangular buildings between first and second centuries, and a slight increase for the third. There is less evidence for the fourth century.

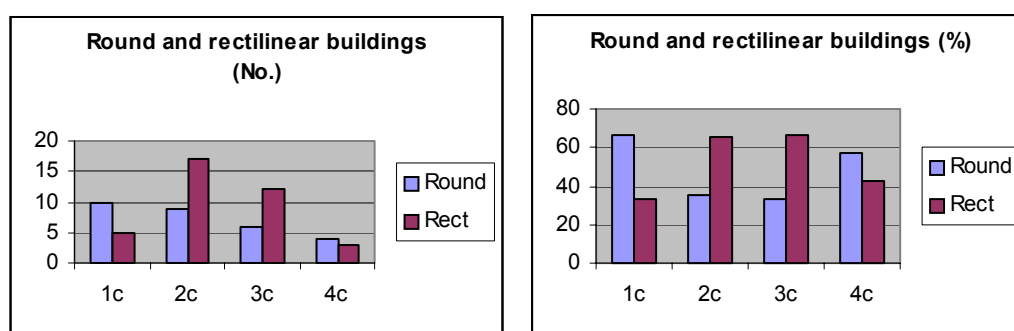


Figure 4.7 Round and rectangular buildings in the study area

The regional pattern of rectangular buildings versus roundhouses is rather different, as shown in the charts below. BD has more rectangular than round structures in the first century (R), while MK has many more round than rectangular. The second century jump in the MK data to fifteen rectangular and five round buildings is not seen in BD, which has little structural evidence in the later periods. However, while the figures for MK are significant, those for BD are not high enough to be statistically meaningful.

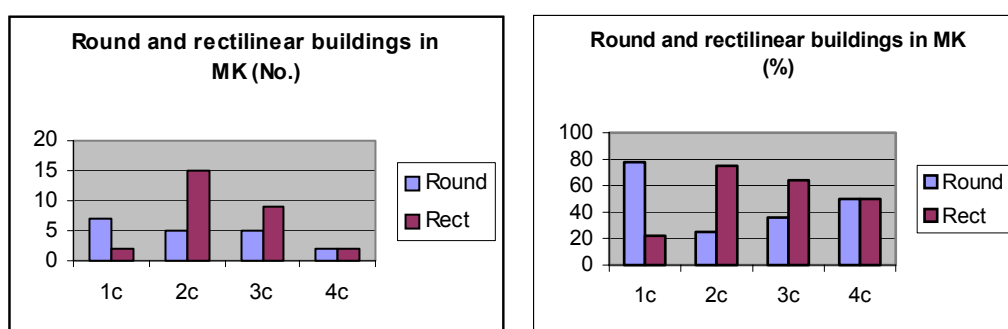


Figure 4.8 Round and rectangular buildings in MK

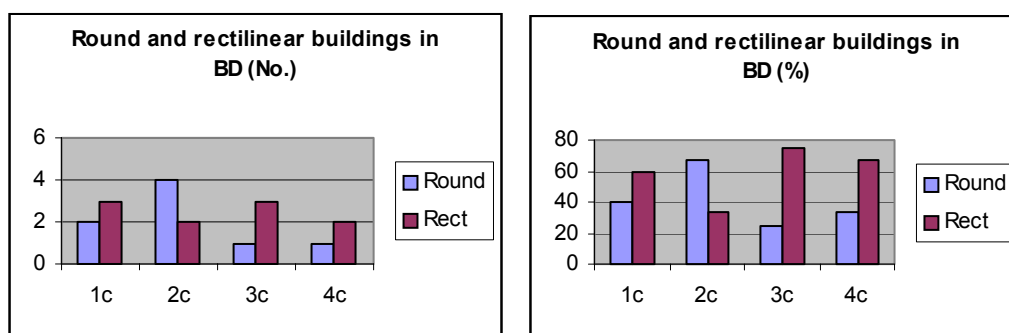


Figure 4.9 Round and rectangular buildings in BD

Further examination of the RB spreadsheet also revealed that, as far as can be established from the dating and phasing of reports, in several cases in the study area roundhouses were present alongside rectangular buildings, as shown in Table 4.7A and Fig 4.10A. Potterspury, which had both rectangular and round buildings in the second century, produced no evidence for later rectangular buildings, but only roundhouses. The topics of early rectangular buildings and late roundhouses are examined in more detail below, as being different from the norm.

Table 4.8A indicates that by the first century (R), there were five sites with rectangular buildings in the study area, three of which were located in BD. This extends the LIA findings (Table 4.6A), where a rectangular building was located at Warren Villas (BD), and, as already stated, the Marsh Leys example may have been constructed earlier than the first century (R). Taking the LIA and first century (R) examples together, it is noticeable that the MK examples were in sites associated with, or which later became, high status, while the BD examples were in small or medium size rural sites. However, once again, it should be emphasised that very low numbers are involved, and that a couple of new discoveries could reverse the patterns shown here.

A further digression from the norm for architectural development is the construction of roundhouses in the LRB period. Table 4.9A lists nine third or fourth century records (eight different locations) where circular structures were present, four of these of fourth-century date. It is particularly noticeable that seven out of nine examples were in MK, and furthermore that the stone-built roundhouses were located at high status sites, while the stone-founded or timber examples were at rural settlements (Fenny Lock, West Stagsden, Potterspury and Wavendon Gate).

4.4.4 Construction materials

First, it should be noted that construction materials were not given in every excavation report. Second, the fact that wattle and daub was perhaps sometimes interpreted generally as timber may account for the lack of the former. ‘Stone houses’ were possibly merely stone-founded in some cases, rather than being all stone. But this is of no great importance, for the essential

opposition is between traditional fabrics, and the use of stone, which is likely to indicate higher status, and/or the wish to emulate new fashions.

Table 4.10 illustrates the number of locations using particular construction materials, by century. In the study area as a whole, timber buildings were by far the most common (13:2) in the first century (R). In the second century, this was still the case, though over a third of locations now used some stone (17:6). By the third century, numbers were approximately the same (9:8), and for the fourth century, there was little evidence, but four out of five locations were using stone.

Table 4.10 Construction materials

Date	Wattle & daub		Timber		Stone-founded		Stone		Totals
	MK	BD	MK	BD	MK	BD	MK	BD	
1 st c	0	0	6	7	1	0	1	0	15
2 nd c	3	0	10	4	0	1	6	0	24
3 rd c	1	0	5	2	3	1	4	1	17
4 th c	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	0	5
Totals	4	0	22	13	4	3	13	1	60

There are some clear geographical differences, in spite of the lack of evidence for BD. While there were similar numbers of timber buildings in the first century (R), and only two examples of stone-founded or stone, both in MK, by the second century there were six examples of stone buildings in MK, and none in BD. There were also more examples of timber or wattle and daub buildings in MK than in the earlier period, but this reflects the general increase in MK of second century sites, not seen in BD. Overall, MK had 12 locations with stone or stone-founded buildings from the late first century to the fourth, while BD only had three, of later RB date (Kempston, Sandy and West Stagsden) (Table 4.11A and Fig 6.9).

Building stone in the form of oolitic limestone was abundant in the north of the Ouse valley (Green 2000: 6). However, there was a shortage of good stone in southern Milton Keynes until bricks were introduced in the post-medieval period. This might account for the continuing use of timber for rectangular buildings, and for some later roundhouses, at Wavendon Gate (Williams *et al* 1996: 86). In general, therefore, the sites in the south which did use stone were probably the more prosperous. Likewise, at Potterspury in the north-west of the study area, where building stone was relatively accessible, and there were no stone structures, even in the LRB, the site was perhaps of lower status (Meek *et al* 2000: 20).

4.4.5 Mixed forms of architecture

In addition to roundhouses which accompanied or replaced rectangular buildings, there were also several examples of mixed types, that is, buildings which amalgated native materials with the new shape, or *vice versa*. These were examined to show the extent of intra- and inter-site diversity. In addition stone roundhouses, an apparent contradiction of the ‘normal’ trajectory of building types, were examined separately.

Examples of mixed traditions include a stone roundhouse at Blacklands, Gayhurst, dating from the late first or very early second century, replaced by a corridor house, of timber-framed construction and wattle and daub infill, in the third century. Nevertheless, both buildings had thatched roofs, rather than tile (Fleming 1972: 6-7). In the second century, a roundhouse constructed of wattle and daub, but plastered in the Roman manner, existed at *Magiovinium* Site 17 (Neal 1987: 9). At Biddenham Loop, roof tiles were found together with timbered buildings and roundhouses, and Wilstead also yielded ceramic building material with wooden roundhouses (Luke in prep; Albion 2002a: 17).

As shown in Table 4.11A, there were at least 10 circular buildings using stone in the study area, three of which were stone-founded. The many stone roundhouses listed in MK further confirm their concentration in the area of Milton Keynes, Northamptonshire and East Oxfordshire (Keevil and Booth 1997: 42-53). This suggests common architectural traditions between MK and its neighbours to the north and west, especially in the LRB period. Meanwhile this research also suggests that they were much rarer further east, in BD.

4.4.6 Architectural elaboration

Architectural embellishment would have been used to display status and cultural or social affiliations. However, it should not be assumed that architectural display always indicated wealth, or conversely that its absence represented poverty. Status could have been displayed in other ways, such as the possession of livestock or perhaps portable items (Taylor 2001a: 49). Furthermore, even where architecture was used to demonstrate identity, this may have been in the form of organic materials. For example, at Piddington villa in Northamptonshire, a large number of ceramic ‘finials’, thought to be roof ornaments, were excavated. These are rare elsewhere and have been interpreted as a status symbol (Ward 1999: 28). It is possible therefore that equally distinctive architectural elements could also have been made of timber, no longer retrievable.

Table 4.12 (repeating Table 3.6) defines the various levels of architectural elaboration which were used for analysis.

Table 4.12 Architectural Elaboration

AE0	Structures present, but no architectural elaboration evident.
AE1	Ceramic building material, bricks, plain plaster
AE2	Painted plaster, hypocaust/flue tile, dressed stone, op sig., window glass
AE3	<i>Tesserae</i> , baths, architectural sculpture (with or without any of the above).

Table 4.13 shows that in the first century (R) there was very little indication of architectural elaboration. Over the next three centuries the presence of AE2 and AE3 increases, but, even in the third century, represents only a minority of sites.

Table 4.13 Levels of Architectural Elaboration in MK and BD

Date	AE0		AE1		AE2		AE3	
	MK	BD	MK	BD	MK	BD	MK	BD
1 c	9(100%)	8(80%)	0	2(20%)	0	0	0	0
2 c	14(64%)	3(27%)	2(9%)	7(64%)	2(9%)	1(9%)	4(18%)	0
3 c	7 (44%)	3(38%)	2(12%)	3(12%)	4(25%)	1(38%)	3(19%)	1(12%)
4 c	3 (43%)	1(33%)	0	1(34%)	1(14%)	1(33%)	3(43%)	0

The AE3 sites are discussed in 4.4.7, under villas and other high status buildings. The AE2 sites, all except Kempston and Sandy in MK, consist of:

Second century Wymbush, Stantonbury, Sandy

Third century Great Ouse Culvert, Cosgrove, Wood Corner, Sherwood Drive, Kempston

Fourth century Olney Hyde, Kempston

A regional analysis indicates that although BD is the only area to have any architectural elaboration in the first century (R) (AE1 at Harrold Kiln and Marsh Leys Area 2), it remains at a relatively low level in the second century, when most sites had AE1 (64%). In contrast, in the second century, MK had 64% with no form of architectural elaboration at all, but 18% had AE3, the highest level of elaboration.

From the second century onwards MK had more examples of AE2 and AE3 than BD, which only had four throughout the Roman period. The only example of AE3 was the presence of *tegulae*, *imbrices*, hypocaust and a (possible) architectural sculpture from Sandy (4.4.7).

4.4.7 Villas and other high status buildings

Villas are described as buildings with the highest level of architectural elaboration (AE3), together with evidence of a villa layout. Furthermore the term applies to the house and any

outbuildings, rather than a villa estate (3.6.1). High status buildings are those with AE3 but no evidence of villa layout.

Table 4.14 Villas and high status buildings

Villas	2 nd century	3 rd century	4 th century
MK	Bancroft Stanton Low Cosgrove	Bancroft Stanton Low	Bancroft Stanton Low Stantonbury
BD	None	None	None
High status buildings			
MK	Holne Chase	Blacklands, Gayhurst	Blacklands, Gayhurst Windmill Hill
BD	None	Sandy	None

Table 4.14 lists villas and high status buildings. Bancroft and Stanton Low were of villa status by the early second century, if not before, while Cosgrove developed later in that century, but was no longer occupied by the third century, although the associated temple continued in use longer. Meanwhile at Stanton Low and Bancroft villa, although the buildings continued in occupation, there was very little activity in the third century. This was common in lowland Britain and has been attributed to political and economic uncertainty in the Empire (Mynard 1987: 59, 76). However, in the fourth century, both Stanton Low and Bancroft villa revived. Stantonbury appears to have been of AE2 level until that time, when a bath suite gave it a villa layout (Figs 4.11A-4.14A).

The other high status buildings, based solely on the evidence of architectural elaboration, were also few, and have been classified on the strength of slender evidence. Holne Chase in MK was of early second century date, while the other three examples (Gayhurst, Windmill Hill and Sandy) dated to the third and fourth centuries. Table 4.14 also demonstrates the lack of evidence in BD, the only evidence of a possible high status structure coming from LRB phases of the small town at Sandy.

The attribution of AE3 status to Sandy was, as at Windmill Hill, solely due to a fragment of a sculpture which could have been of architectural nature (5.4.2). In 1974, Sandy was described as having a generally low level of architectural elaboration, and no *tesserae* or painted plaster had been located there – only a single flue tile (Johnston 1974: 52). In the 1990s, finds of a large mortared building, and relief patterned flue tile, have been interpreted as evidence of a possible *mansio* (Black 1995: 43), but further evidence of high status structures has not yet been forthcoming.

4.4.8 Summary

The Level 2 analysis suggests that architecture in the study area falls within the generalised model already discussed (2.7.2). But, concealed beneath, more diverse patterns emerged. Rectangular buildings were, in small numbers, present even in the LIA, and roundhouses throughout the period. In many locations round and rectangular buildings were contemporary, and there were several buildings which combined both traditional and new elements. Throughout the RB period, although the number of locations with some degree of architectural elaboration did increase, sites with little or no evidence of architectural elaboration always predominated.

On a regional level there was even more diversity. Several MK sites apparently occupied in the LIA did not have evidence for structures, suggesting the use of ephemeral building methods at the stage. There appear to have been more rectangular buildings in the LIA and first century (R) in the BD area, but a very considerable increase in MK from the second century onwards, for which there is no evidence in BD. Conversely, mainly in MK, roundhouses were still being constructed in the LRB period, showing, for whatever reason, a reversion to earlier traditions.

The early appearance of ceramic building material in BD is of interest: together with that of a few early LIA rectangular buildings, it suggests an early start here. However, this does not seem to have been pursued to full adoption of Roman construction methods. Particularly noteworthy is the shortage of stone-built structures in BD, in spite of the presence of ample building stone. This is in spite of the fact that stone was a feature of some BD grave furnishings (5.2.6), and several stone-lined wells are also attested in BD, for example, at Biddenham (Simco 1984: 56) (Table 6.27A). In contrast, MK rapidly caught up with the new architectural fashions, in building shape, use of ceramic building material, but especially in stone construction.

With reference to higher levels of architectural elaboration, the most obvious pattern is that while architectural elaboration and high status sites were scarce in the whole area throughout the period, the hierarchical divide was much more obvious in MK than in BD, where almost all sites were of moderate status, and there were no proven villas.

4.5 Material culture: ceramics

4.5.1 Introduction

Table 4.15 shows ceramic data available for analysis. In spite of the limited quantity, it was possible to derive valuable information relating to identity from them.

Table 4.15 Type of ceramics data available

	LIA	1c R	2c	3c	4c
Total records for period	41	45	66	35	21
Fully quantified assemblages (fabrics)	16	12	27	11	3
Presence only of fabrics and/or vessel types noted	9	8	4	3	2
Records with no ceramic information	16	25	35	21	16
Fully quantified assemblages by area					
MK sites	5	10	17	7	0
BD sites	11	2	10	4	3

The *proportions* of mortaria, amphorae, drinking vessels, samian and regional and imported wares which reached sites (rather than merely the *presence* of these types) have not in most cases been covered here, due to the lack of suitable assemblages, especially in BD. Further research would refine the information, as for example, outlined in Cooper 2004 and Evans 2001.

4.5.2 Fabric types

As described in Chapter 3, IA fabrics were hand-made vessels of MIA tradition, while LIA ceramics were those of the new form and fabric, often wheel-made, and formerly known as ‘Belgic’. LIA fabrics were defined according to the tempering used: one of the most common, and frequently finest, was grog-tempered. Grog-tempered pot was also produced in RB times, and in the later second century appears to have developed into soft pink grog ware (6.11.2), which was an inferior version of the preceding LIA fabric and used in particular for large storage vessels.

Table 4.16A shows IA and LIA types found in LIA quantified assemblages in the study area, in order of sites with the highest proportions of LIA fabric. Where the percentage is not known, presence only (p) is noted. It also lists assemblage types (4.5.4). Of the 22 LIA assemblages available for analysis, all but one had LIA fabric present, and the majority had between 65-100%. Although there are more sites in the MK than BD area with 100% LIA fabric, it can be seen that most of the BD sites also have very high proportions of LIA fabric. The two sites with the least LIA fabric are in MK (Wavendon Gate had none, and Westcroft only 1%).

Table 4.16A also reveals the extent to which the whole area was using transitional ceramics – various permutations of IA and LIA, and hand-made and wheel-thrown fabrics, as well as IA forms. For example, Downs Barn had vessels which were hand-made except for the rim, which was wheel-finished. Only four assemblages were totally LIA types, those at Harrold Pit, Hartigans, Walton, and the Bancroft mausoleum cremations. Conversely, domestic assemblages at the mausoleum, included IA forms and 22% IA fabric. In addition, although

almost all products of the two Stagsden Kilns were of LIA fabric and form, they were handmade (Dawson 2000a: 84).

For the LIA period, it is not possible to make any judgement of the type of site correlated with ceramic types. At this stage all sites were of Size 1, except Stanton Low (Size 2) and only Bancroft mausoleum could be described as of other than undifferentiated status, being possibly already a high status site (Marney 1989: 168) (4.4.6).

Table 4.17A shows the types of tempering used, as a percentage of total LIA fabrics, found in quantified assemblages. Most sites in the study area produced both grog-tempered and shell-tempered fabric, thus confirming Thompson's contention that her Area 8 (Bletchley to Northampton) (3.6.2) lay at the northern end of grog distribution, since it used other tempers as well as grog (Fig 3.2A). Now, over 25 years later, more information is available. Table 4.17A, although still limited with respect to MK data, shows that both shell, and grog, tempers were used widely over the study area, suggesting that the whole area was equally peripheral to grog tempering. However, Thompson further suggested that the southern end of Area 8, near Bletchley (south MK) resembled Area 7 (Hertfordshire and Chilterns) in both form and fabric, in that grog was 'invariably' used there (Thompson 1982: 15-16). While there is insufficient data from this part of MK to illuminate Thompson's findings on this aspect, it should be noted that shell-tempered wares from Harrold and other sites were used at Saffron Gardens, Bletchley in the LIA. In fact, affinities with this part of Milton Keynes were said elsewhere to have been with ceramics to the north of the area, rather than the '*Catuvellauni*' territory to the south (Waugh *et al* 1974: 378).

However, Thompson's Area 8 was also characterised by vessels with mixed grog and shell tempering, or mixed grog and sand (Thompson 1982: 16). These are also recorded in Table 4.17A. While it is difficult to discern any regional pattern in the proportions of grog-tempered or shell-tempered ware in the study area, it is very noticeable that, apart from a relatively large amount of grog and shell at Bancroft mausoleum, and the presence of grog and sand noted at Stanton Low, it is only the BD assemblages which had mixed fabrics (tempering with a mixture of grog and shell, or grog and sand). These were found in eleven of the thirteen assemblages (at nine locations). Furthermore, all of the BD locations except one (Harrold Pit Odell) had fabrics with mixed grog and sand tempering present, in one case in proportions as high as 35%.

Thompson noted that sand, rather than grog, was used in the Cambridge area, and this may have been a trend extending from there to higher up the Ouse Valley (Thompson 1982: 16-17). For example, the LIA and first century (R) fabrics at Greenhouse Farm, near Cambridge, were predominantly sand-tempered (Gibson and Lucas 2002: 124). It seems that cultural choice was

probably involved, for supplies of sand from the Greensand Ridge were as near to much of MK as to BD.

The different fabrics may have been used for different purposes, as well as reflecting the availability of tempering materials. It has been suggested, for example at Stagsden, that shell-tempered ware, a coarser fabric, might have been used for cooking, and grog-tempered ware for storage and eating (Dawson 2000a: 62). The latter, being a finer fabric, was also used for burial assemblages, where high status pots were (perhaps) required, as at Bourton Grounds, Thornborough.

In the RB period, IA, and more commonly, LIA, types were still present in the study area. IA fabrics were found in very small proportions in four sites (seven assemblages), all in BD, as shown in Table 4.18A. These may represent curation (6.8.3). In the first century (R), several locations still had more LIA than RB pottery. However, as noted in Chapter 3, this was not uncommon in the region as a whole. Even in the second century, LIA pottery was dominant in one MK site, Westbury, where it made up 93% of the assemblage. In the Biddenham sites, relatively large amounts of LIA pottery were still in use in the second century, which, together with the low percentage of imports, suggests a rather low status site (Luke in prep).

4.5.3 Continental imports

The presence of continental ceramics was analysed as an indication of contact with the continent (or the south-east), and of wealth or status.

Table 4.19A lists locations with continental imports of LIA date, though not necessarily in LIA context. Only seven locations yielded evidence, four in MK and three in BD, suggesting very limited links with either the continent itself, or the pottery distribution areas of Hertfordshire and Essex (6.11.5). No *terra sigillata* was noted in LIA contexts in the study area. Table 4.20A shows samian in quantified assemblages and demonstrates the small amount which reached first century (R) sites. However, this was normal in rural sites in Britain, regardless of time or region (Willis 2004).

Later imports of samian were also examined. Table 4.21A lists sites in MK and BD yielding samian in contexts of second century date onwards. These are not necessarily from quantified assemblages, but are used solely to denote the presence of samian at a site. No analysis of quantity, vessel origin or form, or depositional context has been undertaken here. In the second century, about twice as many sites received samian, and it was more common in MK sites (but there were twice as many MK sites at that stage). Less third century sites in the area received the ware, due no doubt to the fact that its production was in decline from around 200 AD. Some of the LRB sites were obviously curating these vessels (6.8.3).

From the second century onwards, the types of sites represented varied considerably, showing that samian reached small and medium sized sites, as well as larger and higher status ones: however, there were proportionally fewer small rural sites. This was normal; while major towns, military sites and their *vici* (none of which are thought to have existed in the study area) received far more samian than did religious, ritual, industrial or rural sites, or small towns, percentages at rural high status/villa sites were some of the highest (Willis 2004).

4.5.4 Vessel assemblage types

Assemblages are defined as follows:

- Assemblage 1 kitchen (storage and cooking)
- Assemblage 2 kitchen and drinking
- Assemblage 3 kitchen, drinking and dining.

As noted in Chapter 3, the presence of particular vessel types, not just those in quantified assemblages, were used as an indication of the uptake of new drinking and dining traditions.

Figures 4.15 to 4.17 show assemblage types from the LIA to second century only, as by the third century virtually all assemblages would have been of Assemblage 3 (J Taylor, pers.comm.).

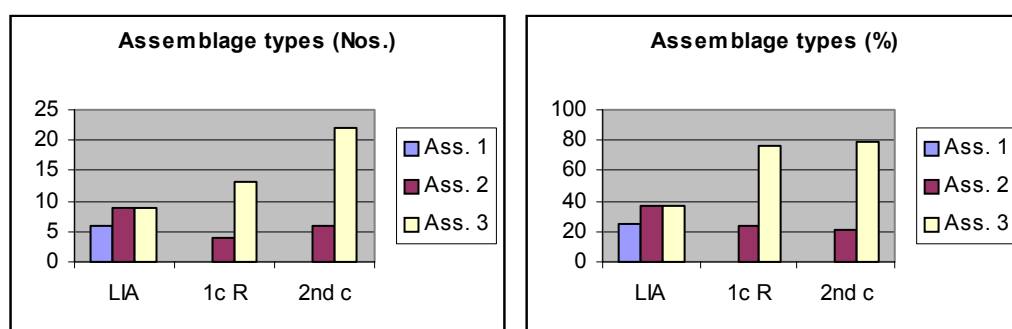


Figure 4.15 Assemblage types in study area

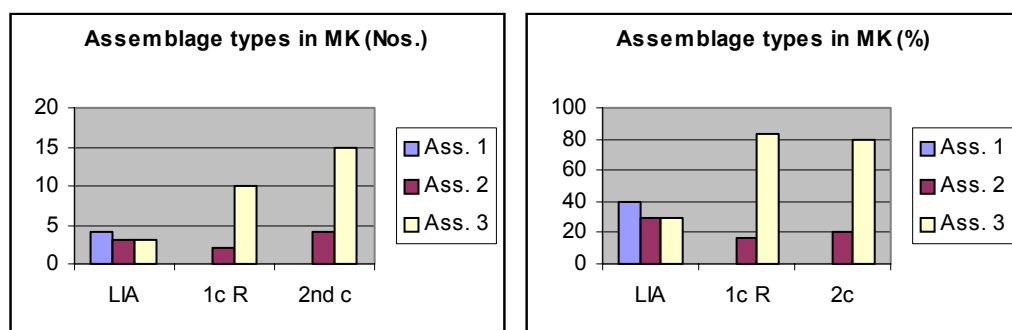


Figure 4.16 Assemblage types in MK

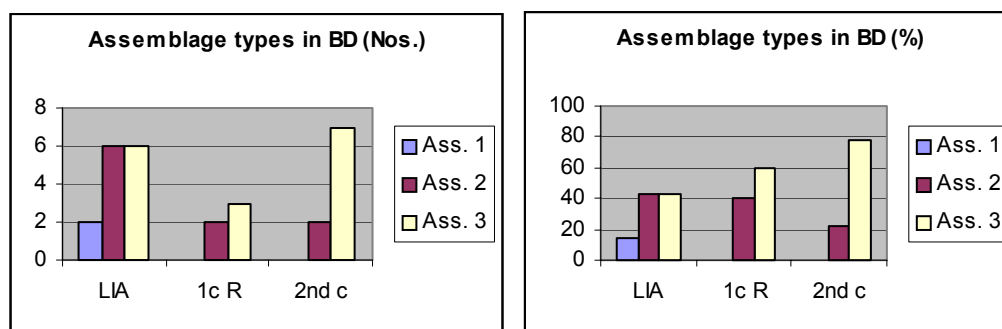


Figure 4.17 Assemblage types in BD

In the LIA, the BD area had more high status ceramic assemblages (Assemblages 2 and 3) than did MK. In MK and the west there were also four cases of Assemblage 1, which is not found in the Bedfordshire area except at Stagsden Kilns. (The latter would have been a special case: production was unlikely to reflect all types of vessels used in the settlement itself). By the first century (R), there was no Assemblage 1 at all in the entire study area. MK now had five times more Assemblage 3 pottery than Assemblage 2, and by the second century, it comprised about 75%. However, since few assemblages were available for analysis for this period it is difficult to draw any conclusion about the BD vessels.

4.5.5 Drinking assemblages

Drinking assemblages were examined as an indicator of status as well as early contact with continental groups (3.6.2). Beakers, cups, flagons, pedestal bowls and urns were used for this analysis. Table 4.22A shows the types of drinking vessels present at sites in the study area, although these are not quantified. It is clear that they were more widely available in BD than in MK in the LIA, and that the numbers of occurrences in MK in the first century (R) had more than doubled; however, the fact that less ceramic detail was available for MK in the LIA period should be borne in mind. There was a particular concentration on drinking forms in first century (R) Bancroft villa, and also in the LIA phase at nearby Bancroft mausoleum site (Williams and Zeepvat 1994: 119; Rippengal 1996: 149-151).

A brief examination of locations where cups and beakers (as identified by the excavators) of LIA and first century (R) were excavated revealed the following:

- 9 locations had cups in MK (out of 15 with suitable data)
- 5 locations had cups in BD (out of 9)
- 14 locations had beakers in MK
- 8 locations had beakers in BD.

Beakers therefore appear to have been more common throughout the study area. Beakers, because they hold a larger volume of liquid than cups, could indicate that there was a bias to beer rather than wine consumption, or to communal versus personal drinking (Biddulph 2005;

Pitts 2005). However, a larger data set, and more detailed analysis, including the quantity of vessels which reached each site, would be required to determine this.

4.5.6 Amphorae and mortaria

The presence of amphorae and mortaria indicates the likely adoption of Roman foodways – mortaria for preparation method, and amphorae for the type of food consumed (wine, oil, liquamen, olives). While amphorae also demonstrate contact, direct or indirect, with the continent, most mortaria were of British origin. Mortaria were perhaps not always used for food preparation: they could instead have been used for communal food serving, for non-food purposes, such as ritual, or merely for status display (3.6.2). However, while mortaria continued in use throughout the RB period, in the LRB barrels may have supplemented amphorae for wine, especially from the Rhineland. Oil and fish sauce also were very rare imports in the RB from the third century onwards (Mattingly 2006: 514), so the absence of amphorae in the later RB is not unusual.

Amphorae and mortaria are listed in Table 4.23A and 4.24A where found in a dateable context, not necessarily in quantified assemblages. Table 4.23A shows that amphorae had reached the study area by the second century, but only in a limited number of locations (ten), varying in size and status. In addition, other amphorae were excavated, of uncertain date or find context. Several of these might have arrived much earlier, in one case even in LIA times. At least eight vessels (one of these a Pelichet 47 from Languedoc, possibly carrying wine) were found at Stanton Low, the earliest perhaps dating from the late first century. However, an amphora was found in the gully of a possible LIA roundhouse, and in addition a number of amphora sherds were found in undated contexts, although the vessels themselves were dateable (Woodfield 1989: 142, Microfiche 2: 66, 89). At Bancroft villa, an amphora with an early rim form was found unstratified, which suggests that there may already have been a wealthy group here in pre-conquest times (Marney 1989: 168).

Most of the amphorae found in the study area were Dressel 20, confirming observations for Milton Keynes itself and Britain in general (Mattingly 2006: 323). Dressel 20 amphorae were used to transport olive oil: while this is thought to have been used mainly in lighting in MK (Marney 1989: 168), no ceramic lamps of a type suitable for burning oil were found at all in the study area, so possibly some olive oil was being used for culinary, medical or bathing purposes.

Sandy had at least nine Dressel 20 olive oil amphorae, dating from the late first century to mid second, and Gallic wine amphorae, at least four of which were of Pelichet 47 type. There was also one amphora, possibly containing olives, from Spain or Lyons (BCAS 1996: 21-22). Meanwhile, at *Magiovinium* Site 17 only three amphorae (one a Dressel 20) were found, and the context date was not given (Neal 1987: 65). Peartree Farm, just south of Bedford, also produced

undated amphorae, and sherds of second or third century vessels were found in undated contexts at Marsh Leys and Wavendon Gate.

Examination of the SMR data will add other amphora finds. However, it appears that Marney was correct, in that amphorae occurred mainly near roads or in towns, because of the difficulty of transport to outlying areas (Marney 1989: 168). All the MK sites listed here are less than three or four kilometres from Watling Street, except Stanton Low. In BD, Sandy and Warren Villas were very close to the Baldock to *Durovigutum* road, but BD also had amphorae at Kempston, and four rural sites: West Stagsden, Wilstead, Marsh Leys and Peartree Farm. Even if this part of BD was not served by fully engineered roads (6.10), the nearby Ouse may have been used for transport.

Evans used vessel types, including amphorae, as a percentage of ceramic assemblages, as indicators of site type. He found that four out of six basic rural sites had none, the remaining two each having only 0.2%. Villas and small towns had 1% or less, while military sites varied between 2.5 and 11%. The fact that few small rural sites, which make up the large majority of sites in the study area, are represented in Table 4.23A, suggests that the area conforms with Evans' findings (Evans 2001: 33).

Table 4.24A shows that at least one mortarium may have reached the study area in the later first century; this was recorded in late first century to early second century contexts at Constantine Way, next to Bancroft villa. Mortaria may also have been present at the villa itself at that stage, which is a further indication of the early status of the site, for they were rare in later first century contexts (Cool 2006: 183). At least 35 mortaria were also found in Phase 1 deposits at Stanton Low, which is located on the Ouse, about 3 km west of its junction with the Ouzel, which is thought to have been navigable then (Parminter 1987: 97) (6.10). Heavy items such as mortaria could therefore have reached Stanton Low by river directly from *Magiovinium*.

The earliest of the Stanton Low vessels date from around 100 AD (Woodfield 1989: Microfiche 2, 57-63). As well as the mortaria found at *Magiovinium* (Fenny Stratford) shown in Table 4.24A, eight mortaria from *Verulamium* were also found elsewhere in the town, in undated contexts. These could have been produced between AD 50-130; another four might date to between AD 110-160 (Hartley 1987: 98). It is therefore possible that mortaria were also in use at *Magiovinium* before the end of the first century. Otherwise, mortaria appear to have reached the MK area early in the second century. However, Potterspury, a few kilometres further north, also near Watling Street, had no mortaria in second century phases, and this was also the case in extramural *Lactodurum* (Meek 2000: 28). In BD, mortaria arrived later in the second century.

Forty percent of the sites receiving mortaria are larger, or of higher status: the remaining sixty percent are small rural sites; however, considering that the latter outnumber the former by about

75:25, it is clear that rural communities received proportionally less mortaria, and the same applied to amphorae. This conforms to the national norm (Mattingly 2006: 475). On a regional basis, it appears that mortaria arrived in MK earlier, and in larger quantities, than in BD: this could be simply because MK had easier access via Watling Street, or else that BD was choosing to use mortaria in smaller amounts, for whatever purpose.

4.5.7 Summary

The ceramics analysis shows that almost all LIA sites in the study area used LIA fabrics to a greater or lesser degree, and that assemblages consisted of transitional ceramics in the main. The use of LIA and even IA fabrics continued in a couple of sites into the second century. The presence of LIA mixed fabrics, or of shell-tempering rather than grog-tempering, suggests that the area in general was peripheral to Thompson's Area 7 (Chilterns). Continental imports were very rare in both the LIA, and the first century (R) when samian was first found. However, its distribution then and in later periods followed national trends. With reference to vessel assemblages, these also conformed to the normal pattern, in that by the second century all included kitchen, drinking and dining vessels, and there is no indication that the distribution of amphorae and mortaria was unusual in the study area.

There are however a number of regional differences. In MK, IA and LIA types persisted longer in a few LIA and ERB locations, respectively, than in BD. This suggests a rather more conservative attitude to ceramics in the earlier periods in MK. While the study area as a whole used grog-tempered pottery in the LIA period, BD was using LIA fabrics with mixed tempering to a far greater extent than MK, and only BD used grog and sand-tempered fabrics, which indicates continuities with the lower Ouse (Cambridgeshire) area.

Although absolute numbers are small, BD had more drinking and dining assemblages than did MK in the LIA, while in the following period, there was little evidence for BD, but the great majority of MK sites had adopted Assemblage 3. Finally, there is some evidence that BD received mortaria later, and in less quantity, than MK, in spite of its early uptake of Assemblage 3. Taken together it appears that while the initial developments took place in BD, it was in MK that the full adoption of Roman foodways, using mortaria, began. However, mortaria would need to be found with new ingredients and tablewares to prove that they were being used for preparing food in a Roman manner (Cool 2006: 166).

While there was little difference in the amount of Gallo-Belgic ceramics found, samian was found more commonly in MK in both the first century (R) and the second century. However, it appears that BD was using both IA ceramics and samian into the fourth century in a few locations, indicating possible curation (6.8.3).

4.6 Material culture relating to literacy

4.6.1 Introduction

The presence of items associated with literacy at a particular site does not prove that the inhabitants were themselves literate. For example, some of the items in the Level 3 data are of high quality craftsmanship and use imperial imagery, suggesting they are very likely to have been imported. Examples are the votive plaques from Old Stratford (6.7.3). However, where finds of writing equipment – rather than inscribed items – are made, this is more suggestive that some local people may have been literate (Mattingly 2004: 19).

A summary of the finds associated with literacy is shown in Table 4.25, and Tables 4.26A to 4.28A cover the topics separately in more detail.

Table 4.25 Items associated with literacy

Site	Styli/ cases	Writing tablets	Seal boxes	Graffiti	Lamps etc
MK					
<i>Magiovinium</i> Site 17			2		1
<i>Magiovinium</i> (Fenny Stratford)			1		
Bancroft villa	5		1		2
Bancroft mausoleum				1	
Stantonbury	1				
Wood Corner	1				
Caldecotte, Berrystead Close	2		1		
Wavendon Gate		1	1	1	1
Stanton Low				3	
Wymbush				1	
Great Ouse Culvert, Silverstone				1	
Thornborough Barrow					1
Cosgrove					1
BD					
Harrold Kiln	1				
Kempston				1	2

4.6.2 Writing materials

The most immediate indication of literacy and/or numeracy is the present of writing materials themselves, in the form of seal boxes, writing tablets, styli and stylus cases (Table 4.26A). Writing materials were found only in MK, and moreover, predominantly in the vicinity of Watling Street. The exception was the Harrold Kiln site, where written records were perhaps employed in the pottery industry. Surprisingly, none was recorded at the recently excavated

large settlement at Kempston. The writing tablets from Wavendon Gate were found in the 'Taranis' pit and had perhaps been used in making vows to the gods (5.3.1).

The finds from Bancroft villa can be compared to those from Gorhambury villa (7.4.2) which produced four seal boxes and 17 styli, and the 74 styli found at Hambledon, south Buckinghamshire. Yet, in Gadebridge villa, only 7 km from Gorhambury, only two styli were excavated, in spite of the fact that both villas were fully excavated (Neal *et al* 1990: 148, 1). There was therefore great variation in supply even between sites of apparently similar type, suggesting they were using writing for different purposes.

4.6.3 Graffiti and tile stamps

Graffiti and tile stamps were the only forms of writing found in the Level 2 data. A total of eight examples of graffiti were found in six locations in the study area (Table 4.27A). The graffito from Wavendon was found in a ditch of late first to early second century date, and if so, this seems a relatively early date for use of writing. However, there would have been some experience of writing even in the LIA; for example, some IA coins carried legends as well as images (Mattingly 2006: 38). Nevertheless, a simple graffito, consisting of one character, does not necessarily indicate literacy; even today the illiterate are asked to mark their names, for example, with a cross.

It is noticeable that more complex graffiti or tile stamps, which may well indicate local literacy, were found in higher status sites, Bancroft and Stanton Low, and Wymbush, which was also of higher than average status (4.4.6). A survey of graffiti established that they were most common in forts and *vici*, followed by major and minor towns, villas, and finally, basic rural sites, where they were very rare (Evans 2001: 33). The evidence from the study area, scant though it is, would appear to bear this out. As with writing equipment, there was only one example from BD: however, in the case of graffiti, it must be borne in mind that fewer pottery reports have been published for that area.

4.6.4 Lamps and lighting equipment

Lamps and lighting equipment have been examined because their presence may relate to activities such as reading and writing, which needed additional sources of light to the hearths or torches which were previously available. They can thus indicate cultural changes, as well as economic status, due to the cost of fuelling the equipment. Lamps are also found in ritual contexts, hoards, sanctuaries, or burials (Eckardt 2002: 15-16). Four of the lamps found in the area were in burials: perhaps if they were considered essential in death, they may also have been so in life.

Altogether, eight examples of lighting equipment were found in the area, as listed in Table 4.28A. These include three from high status sites, and three from larger settlements. None came from a small rural site. No ceramic oil lamps, of the type which burned olive oil, were found in the area, but these were extremely rare in rural areas, including villas, especially after the ERB period. It appears that iron open lamps and candlesticks, using animal fats, were the main source of lighting (Mattingly 2006: 473). Candlesticks and open lamps were also common in ritual sites, such as the example from Cosgrove temple (Eckardt 2002: 58).

4.6.5 Summary

The main points emerging from evidence associated with literacy are that the majority came from high status sites or towns, and furthermore, that these were predominantly in MK. The only examples of graffiti or tile stamps containing other than one or two characters (giving any indication of literacy) came from high status MK sites. In addition, lighting equipment was present in very few locations, again, mainly in MK and, again, with high status associations.

As noted in 2.7.5, the use of literacy and numeracy might indicate involvement in administration, at the level of state, town or villa, and would act to empower those who practised it. Furthermore it was a key indication of identity, particularly where the use of Latin was involved (Mattingly 2006: 296). However, in BD evidence of literacy is minimal, in contrast to MK, which suggests that the inhabitants had little use for reading, writing or perhaps account-keeping, and no desire either to use them for displaying status or power.

4.7 Roman coins

4.7.1 Introduction

Although the primary purpose of Roman coinage was official administration, once in circulation it would also have been used by the public, for example, at markets (Millet 1990: 178-180). To that extent at least the presence of coins is an indication of likely involvement in the Roman economy. It has also been suggested that large numbers of coins at villas (rather than towns) might indicate that these sites were centres of organised estates, and represented rents collected from tenants (Dark and Dark 1997: 73). Table 4.29A lists coins found at Level 2 sites, except towns, in order to discover which rural settlements were likely to have had an economic or administrative role.

Where resulting from metal detection, rather than solely excavation, this is noted. Most of these excavations (especially those in MK) took place before the growth in metal detection, and many more coins may since have been found. However, few of the BD excavated sites refer to coins found by this method. Likewise, while in MK a number of well-regulated metal-detectorist groups have been formed, this does not seem to be the case in BD. For example, Sandy lacks

any listing of metal-detected finds (Edgeworth and Steadman 2005: 17), and although there is a record of IA coins, there is none for Roman coinage.

4.7.2 The evidence

Most sites with large collections of Roman coins listed in Table 4.29A were of high status, of larger size, or had ritual connotations (6.7.2), although several were merely rural farmsteads. Twenty-five sites in MK produced Roman coins. The highest number were at Bancroft villa, which, with 1038, has one of the largest villa assemblages (Williams and Zeepvat 1994: 269). In comparison, the villas at Gorhambury and Gadebridge produced only 280 and 300 Roman coins respectively, and even *Verulamium* only yielded 3107 (Neal *et al* 1990: 106-108). As with the evidence related to literacy, these figures suggest that different activities were taking place at different villa sites.

Only 12 sites in BD produced coins, and these were generally few in number: this suggests that barter took place, rather than monetary exchange, which was likely in rural areas (Mattingly 2006: 497). Even the sites proposed by Dawson as possible villas did not produce many coins, for example, Peartree Farm and Bletsoe (6.3.2). Table 4.29A produces further evidence that Marsh Leys was a possible market and/or ritual area, as also suggested by the presence of weights (Table 6.30A). Harrold Kiln, engaged in pottery production and trade, is likely to have used coinage, as indeed it did writing materials (4.6.2).

4.7.3 Summary

Roman coinage was found in much larger quantities and in many more locations in MK, suggesting that it was involved in a monetarised economy to a much greater extent than BD. The dearth of Roman coins in BD is, like the relative absence of literacy-related finds, a further confirmation of the apparent lack of villas and high status sites, as well as an indication of a non-Roman identity. However, there is potential for much more profound analysis of both Roman, and IA, coinage in the study area, which is beyond the scope of this current research (8.9.4).

4.8 Conclusions

The excavated evidence in this chapter suggests significantly different trajectories of socio-economic development in the case study areas. While the BD area was more advanced in terms of material culture in the LIA period, this position reversed in the ERB when MK consistently produced more evidence for higher status sites and activities, from the later first century onwards. The next chapter will seek to amplify the picture by looking at evidence of symbolic behaviour.

Chapter 5: Exploring the patterns: symbolic behaviour

5.1 Introduction

The analysis of material culture produced valuable information about the study area, and this chapter broadens the themes to encompass symbolic behaviour. In comparison to some of the analyses in Chapter 4, ritual behaviour in general, and more specifically, burial ritual, is presented in a relatively simplified way. In most instances, the presence of particular rites was deemed of more importance in this study than the number of occurrences, and therefore the patterns shown in this chapter are mostly qualitative, rather than quantitative. This chapter deals first with disposal of the dead, followed by other forms of ritual behaviour.

5.2 Disposal of the dead

5.2.1 Introduction

The most visible methods of burial in the RB period were cremation and inhumation. However, there is now more general acceptance that in the RB period populations may have continued traditional methods of disposal, exposure, excarnation and watery burial, alongside cremation and inhumation (2.8.4). This was particularly the case in rural areas (Philpott 1991: 226). This chapter examines aspects of disposal of the body and how country-wide trends relate to those in the study area.

5.2.2 Distribution of burials

Table 5.1 lists the number of settlements with burial evidence, by period. Figures 5.1 to 5.3 show the same information graphically, including the proportions of settlements with burial.

Table 5.1 Settlement sites associated with burial

	Total		MK		BD	
	With burial	Without burial	With burial	Without burial	With burial	Without burial
LIA	19	14	6	7	13	7
1st c (R)	17	13	8	10	9	3
2nd c	17	29	12	19	5	10
3rd c	10	23	4	17	6	6
4th c	13	6	8	4	5	2

It is evident that there were more settlements in the study area associated with burial than without, in the LIA and first century (R), reflecting the fact that in these earlier periods the dead

were still buried in and around settlements (5.2.3). The situation reversed in the second and third centuries, when nearly twice as many locations were without burial than produced evidence for it. This was not only due to a change to burial outside settlement, but also because few such cemeteries have been located. Inhumation cemeteries were frequently located at some distance from rural settlements in the third and fourth centuries, although earlier rural (cremation) cemeteries did not always observe the requirement to bury outside a settlement (Williams *et al* 1996: 89). Also, excavators are sometimes reluctant to investigate large areas beyond settlement boundaries, which might be one reason why burials outside settlements, or around boundaries, are rarely discovered (Pearce 1999: 154). However, a small number of informal burials continued within settlements in the fourth century.

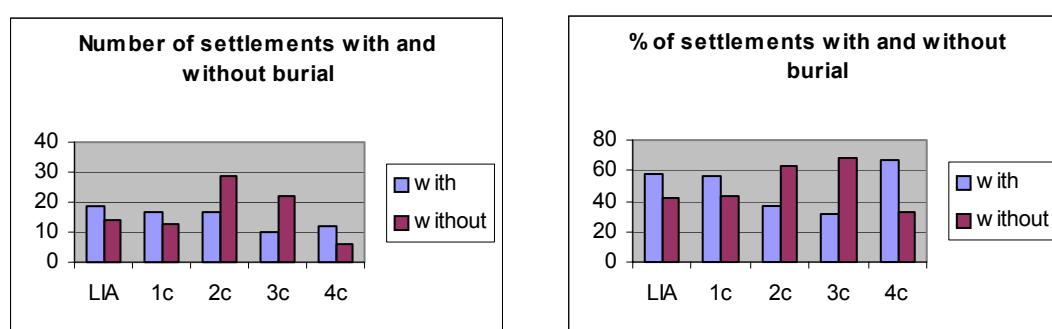


Figure 5.1 Settlements in the study area associated with burial

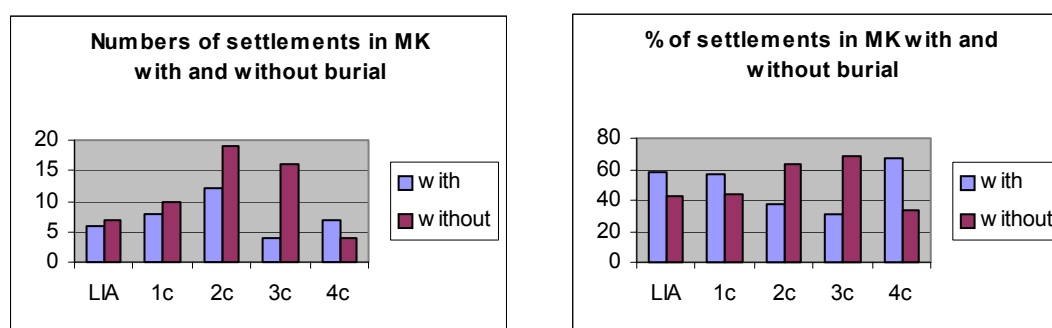


Figure 5.2 Settlements in MK associated with burial

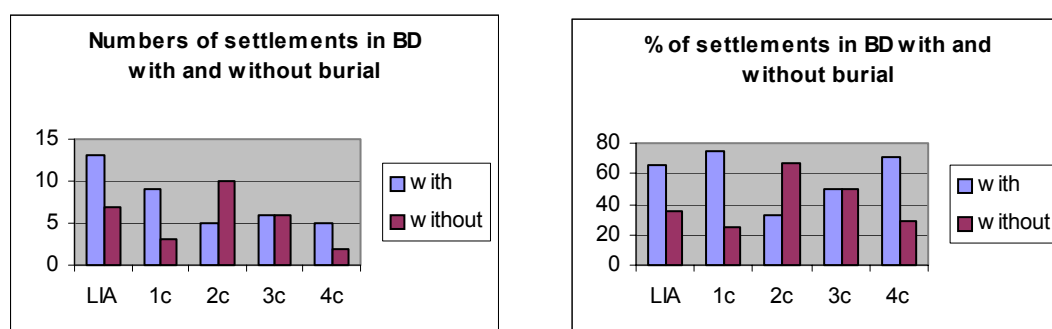


Figure 5.3 Settlements in BD associated with burial

On a regional basis, it can be seen that while there was little difference between locations with and without burial in MK in the LIA and first century (R), burial in settlement was proportionally more common in BD at this time. Both MK and BD showed a decline in settlement burial in the second century, as did MK in the third century, but this decline was less obvious in BD in the LRB.

5.2.3 Location of burial

Location of burial was recorded mainly according to the categories defined by Esmonde Cleary (2.8). The first of these was that of isolated burial, shown in Figure 5.4, and in Table 5.2. Table 5.3A lists isolated burials in their landscape context in more detail. Excarated remains are not included here, but are covered under burial rite (5.2.4).

Table 5.2 Numbers of isolated burials

	LIA		1 c R		2c		3c		4c	
Site	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C
MK										
Saffron Gardens	1									
Monkston Area 1				1						
Monkston Area 3		1								
Windmill Hill				1						
Wavendon Gate				8						
Cotton Valley				1						
Sherwood Drive						2				
Caldecotte Mill Close					1	1				
Thornborough Barrow						1				
Bancroft mausoleum						1			1	
Cosgrove									1	
Fenny Stratford									1	
BD										
West Stagsden		1								
East Stagsden	1									
Marston Moretaine	1									
Bromham	1									
Biddenham Loop F5	1	2		1						
Biddenham Loop F8				1						
Biddenham Loop F13/14					3	2				
Willington Quarry North	2						1			
Willington Redlands Qy				1						
Wyboston	1									
Marsh Leys Area 1					2					
Marsh Leys Area 2				1	4	1				

Roxton							1	1		
Radwell								2		
Peartree Farm									2	
Mill Farm Cardington									2	

I= inhumation, C= cremation.

Quantitative analysis for the whole period shows that there were over 50 percent more isolated burials (35:22) in BD than in MK. There was a similar disparity in locations with group burials, of which MK had nearly 50 percent more (22:15). If isolated burials in the RB period can be seen as conservative in comparison to the overall trend towards group burial, especially those in cemeteries, then it is clear that this may have applied to BD. In addition, it is noticeable that a large number of the isolated burials in BD were inhumations, particularly in the LIA and second century (none was visible for the first century (R)). The subject of the early (traditional) rite of inhumation is discussed in 5.2.4.

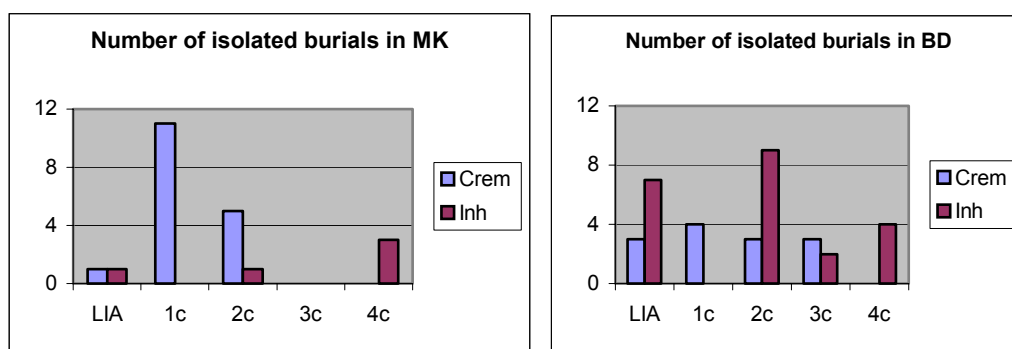


Figure 5.4 Isolated burials

All analyses show that isolated burials are found throughout the whole period and the whole study area. They were associated with settlements of all sizes, and frequently at a settlement boundary, but are also found in field systems, not (as far as we can tell) close to occupation. They were more common in LIA and the first century (R), and after the LIA period, when more were visible in BD, there was very little regional distinction throughout.

As shown in Table 5.4A, there was a wide variety of group burials throughout the period. In the LIA and first century (R) these ranged from dispersed burials, still counted as group burials because they appear to have been deliberately buried in proximity to each other, for example, at Ivel Farm, Sandy, and Radwell, via the more organised groups of cremations at Harrold Pit and Harrold Meadway, to the orderly cremation cemeteries such as those at Bancroft and Thornborough (MK), and Deepdale and Biddenham (G492) (BD). These organised cemeteries were not uncommon, even in this early period (Esmonde Cleary 2001: 137). While Bancroft and

Thornborough were of relatively high status (5.2.7), those at Deepdale and Biddenham were rural and of moderate status.

The settlement at Wavendon Gate in MK reveals evidence of changing burial rite from the LIA until the fourth century (Fig 5.5A). First century cremations were dispersed throughout the settlement, but by the early second century, cremations were in a more orderly and confined cemetery area, although still within the settlement. A final burial in that cemetery, an inhumation, later in the second century, reflected the new rite (Williams *et al* 1996: 88-9). There were further inhumations elsewhere in the settlement in the LRB period.

Stanton Low is the only excavated example of a cemetery attached to a villa, although Bletsoe cemetery may have been associated with a high status site (6.3.2). Stanton Low shows the transition from cremations just within the boundary of the settlement (later first to early second century), to a later second century small inhumation cemetery just within the settlement boundary, followed later by a fourth century cemetery outside the settlement (Fig 4.12A).

The other type of group burial are those in large settlements. From the second century onwards, dispersed and backyard burials are found contemporaneously with organised cemeteries. Although there were inhumation cemeteries at later second century *Magiovinium* (Site 17) (Fig 4.4), they were not laid out in an organised manner, except that they appeared to respect a boundary. They were contemporary with cremation cemeteries, as well as scattered cremations. In the LRB, at least one cemetery was enlarged and laid out in a more formal manner.

Kempston had an inhumation cemetery from the third century: it was in a rectangular enclosure, although the graves were not aligned. In the fourth century the cemetery was re-organised, but, again, not in an orderly fashion. Burials were in four groups in the southern part of the enclosure, sometimes on top of each other. There was no common alignment, and grave goods were included in some. Three large pits cut into earlier graves, and contained charcoal and pottery sherds which may have been deposited during funerary rites. In the late fourth century phase, most of the graves lay within small pennanular enclosures (about 4m by 4m), but still not formally laid out, and the cemetery was extended, perhaps to isolate it from its surroundings (Fig 5.6A) (Dawson 2004: 55, 217). The ditches may have been dug in order to form a mound over the burials, as a marker. Therefore Kempston does show a degree of organisation of funerary space, even if burials were not made in orderly rows.

The burial records for Sandy, the other large settlement in the area, are sparse, confusing and incomplete. None appears to be part of a recognisable formal or bounded cemetery (BCAS 1996: 9). However, at Sandy Municipal cemetery six inhumations, of third and fourth century date, were orientated to a former boundary, possibly separating off the domestic area (Dawson 1990: 11). A later report on the nearby Stratford Road site describes an orderly roadside

inhumation cemetery (Fig 4.5A), containing at least 13 burials (Wilson 2000: 3). Near the LRB cemetery, there were also two crouched inhumations and an inhumation distorted to fit into too small a grave (Dawson 1991: 16). Additional burials are described in 6.6.2.

Unlike the contemporary cemeteries at Kempston, *Magiovinium* and Sandy, Bletsoe appears to have been a typical ‘managed’ cemetery (Fig 5.7A). This might be defined as one where graves are laid out in orderly rows, in a bounded area, making maximum use of spaces, and where there are few if any grave goods. It may also indicate a degree of local administration, controlling access to the cemetery (Philpott 1991: 226-7). At Bletsoe all 54 graves were aligned NW-SE: it is possible that they were separated by markers, and that the rows respected earlier ditches, which acted as boundaries (Dawson 1994: 29).

Examples of several of Esmonde Cleary’s other categories were located in the research area. As already stated, backyard burials were identified in the small towns of Kempston and *Magiovinium* in the second and third centuries, alongside more organised cemeteries. However, while these burials may sometimes have been placed at the rear of plots, it was not always possible to distinguish the front from the back, and in fact, enclosure entrances may have been equally popular for disposal (Pearce 1999: 154). Table 5.3A also shows a number of burials in settlement boundaries and field systems.

Burials in or near monuments (Bronze Age ring ditches) were found at Roxton, Harrold Meadway and Mill Farm Cardington, in BD, and at Gayhurst Quarry and Cotton Valley in MK. These suggest a continuing desire to connect with ancient sacred monuments or dead ‘ancestors’. Such burials were perhaps due to a superstitious perception that these monuments were a propitious place for burial, possibly because they were the home of ‘minor supernatural beings’ (Dark 1993: 142-3). Burials associated with contemporary ritual locations include the polygonal ‘shrine’ at Kempston cemetery. In addition, at Marsh Leys Area 1, two small dispersed cemeteries (G16 and G17), which contained groups of five and two cremations respectively, were located near a possible square building, or shrine, of first century date (5.4.1). Of course, many of the other burials may have had some ritual association, now invisible.

Other methods of disposal in the landscape are covered under excarnation (5.2.4), infant burials (5.2.8) and ritual deposits (5.3.1).

5.2.4 Burial rite

This section examines the most important indication of identity revealed by burial, that of burial rite, and discusses evidence for cremation, inhumation and excarnation.

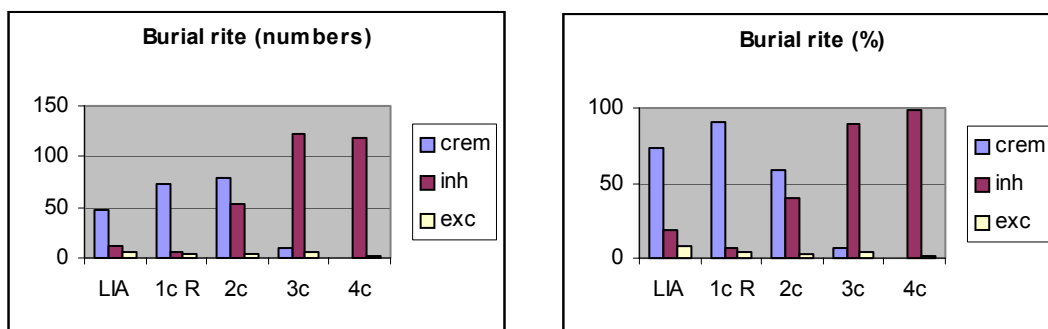


Figure 5.8 Burial rite in the study area

The first aspect of burial revealed by Figure 5.8 is the relatively low number of dead represented in the early periods, especially the LIA, although this represents a longer period of time than do the succeeding century phases. This therefore suggests that only a minority of LIA dead in the study area received formal burial – inhumation or cremation – and the increasing number of cremations in the first century (R) suggests that cremations began to replace excarnation and similar archaeologically invisible methods from that date. Excarnation is discussed further below.

Figure 5.8 also demonstrates that cremation was the dominant rite in the study area from the LIA until the second century, when there was a steady rise in the proportion of inhumations. By the third century there was an almost complete switch to inhumation. However, even in the LRB, there were still a few cremations, at Radwell (2), Kempston (3) and Roxton, in BD, and at Wavendon and Fenny Lock (MK). The two at Fenny were dated to the fourth century.

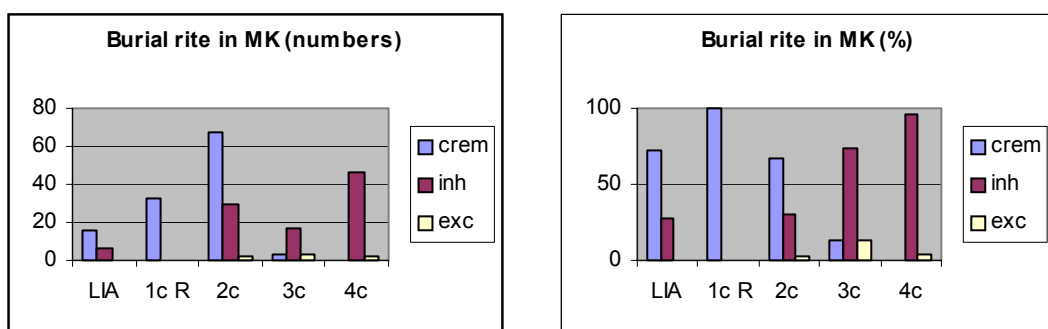


Figure 5.9 Burial rite in MK

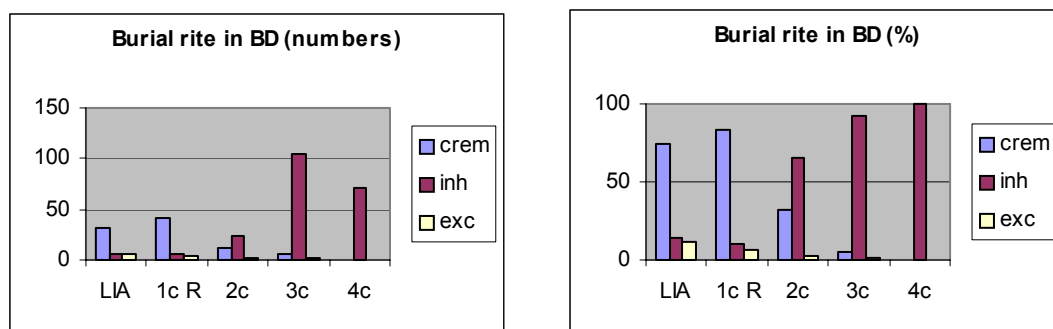


Figure 5.10 Burial rite in BD

It can be seen from Figures 5.9 and 5.10 that cremation dominated in the LIA and first century (R) in both MK and BD. However, while this was still the case in MK in the second century, it did not apply to BD, where approximately two thirds of burials were inhumations. The position equalised in the third century when burials were predominantly inhumations in both areas. There were a small number of late cremations, and possible excarnations, most evident in MK.

A separate analysis of inhumation from LIA to early second century was undertaken, on the basis that inhumations during that period were unlikely to represent the new, extended rite, but instead the indigenous tradition of crouched inhumation, a ‘sporadic rite’ left over from earlier IA traditions (Philpott 1991: 57). Table 5.5A reveals that in the LIA there were 18 individuals (at 10 different locations) inhumed in BD, but only six in MK, and none at all in the first century (R) or early second century. All these burials were in small rural settlements. Those that were sufficiently preserved were recorded as supine, but facing one side, although there was one example of prone burial, usually a later tradition (5.2.10), and the burial at Wyboston was described as ‘tightly contracted’ (Bristow 1998: 330).

The LIA burials in MK were those of the five infants at Silverstone Fields Farm, and the decapitated burial at Saffron Gardens, none of which could be described as a normal adult burial. As no other early inhumations were recorded for MK, it is possible that inhumation was not normally practised here in the earlier periods. However, the seven inhumations of early second century date in BD are likely to represent the indigenous rite of inhumation, for several reasons. Not only was this too early for the new rite of extended inhumation, but these were isolated burials, not deposited in cemeteries. Later second century burials are more likely to represent the new rite, for example at *Magiovinium* and Stanton Low (Table 5.4A). There is little distinction between the two areas in the LRB, when inhumation was the main rite, but a few cremations persisted. This more detailed analysis, although based on a relatively small sample, therefore suggests regional differences in rite between MK and BD between the LIA and the first century (R).

While conditions in the study area are generally not conducive to the preservation of evidence of watery burial, there is some evidence that excarnation may have taken place. As shown in Table 5.6A, possible examples are found sparsely throughout the whole area and period of study, although these could possibly have been the result of disturbed inhumations. Eighteen, or perhaps 19, individuals are represented, that is about 3.5 percent of the total of 518. In addition, scattered fragments of unburnt human bone, possibly from three different bodies, were recorded at Monkston, but no date was ascribed to these (Davis and Bull 2004: 99). In many cases, the excarnated remains were found in ritual contexts, such as the temple at Cosgrove, where two skulls were set into the wall foundation (Quinnell 1991: 53).

Although excarnation is not apparent in the MK area in the LIA or first century (R), there is some evidence that it was practised here earlier in the Iron Age, for example, at Bancroft mausoleum a few fragments of human bone were found in an MIA ditch (Williams and Zeepvat 1994: 54, 559). The fragments of bone found at Monkston (MK) are particularly interesting, for there is no evidence of inhumation at the site, only of cremation, which suggests it is even more likely that these were the result of excarnation rather than of disturbed burials. The body parts found at Wilstead (BD) were described as residual to the IA, when examples of isolated human bone were more common, or alternatively, as graves disturbed during the RB period itself. However, bearing in mind that no other inhumations were located here, it seems likely, as at Monkston, that excarnation could also have been practised. Although there is evidence of possible excarnation in BD from the LIA to the third century, it was the later RB which produced more examples in MK, possibly bearing out observations that traditional ritual practices were more evident in LRB here than earlier in the period (5.3.4).

Further possible examples of continuing traditions in BD are represented by several fragments of cremated human bones. At Marsh Leys, there were two examples of very small amounts of cremated human bone, found in a ditch, and in a quarry pit (early second century). These were perhaps a continuation of an IA mortuary tradition of only burying a 'token' part of the dead person (Albion 2002b: 95). A few fragments of cremated human bone were also found in a first century (R) water pit at Biddenham F6. However, scattered cremated remains are even more unlikely to survive than excarnated bones and more examples, now irretrievable, no doubt existed throughout the study area.

5.2.5 Accompanied and unaccompanied burials

During the course of burial analysis it became obvious that there was considerable intra-site and inter-site variation, as well as regional differences, in cremation rites in particular. A great deal of cremation data is available from recent reports, for example, Biddenham Loop (Luke in prep), and more work could be undertaken on this topic. Of particular interest is the

reconstruction of the cremation process, based on the various types of cremation deposits, as outlined for example by Pearce (1998). It has not been possible to examine all these variables in this research, but with Philpott's work in mind (2.8) accompanied and unaccompanied burials, and burnt or broken grave goods, as opposed to intact goods, have been analysed.

Table 5.7A demonstrates that accompanied and unaccompanied cremations were found throughout the study area, and that many sites used both rites. There appears to be no correlation between the type of site and the type of rite. Table 5.8A shows that broken or burnt grave goods were present in seven locations in the whole study area. However, in all cases, intact grave goods were also present. Philpott suggested that outside south-east England, areas which had not practised cremation in LIA had fewer grave goods in the ERB period, and deposited those grave goods on the pyre, once they had adopted cremation (Philpott 1991: 221). Although there are examples of unaccompanied cremations, and burials containing burnt or broken goods throughout period, there is insufficient information to confirm either of Philpott's statements.

5.2.6 Grave furnishings

Grave furnishings, in the form of timber or stone, are discussed in this section. The types of vessels in burials – their form, fabric, and origin – and position in the grave, are also of interest, although not analysed in full for this research. For example, at Biddenham Farmhouse 6/8, Cemetery L39 (later first to early second century) included graves containing *tazze*, barrel beakers, carinated cups, and pedestal urns. These forms were not found elsewhere on site and appear to have been reserved exclusively for funerary assemblages. Meanwhile, coarsewares, particularly shell-tempered, were not used here in burial (Luke in prep).

Table 5.9A records the presence in burial of wooden boxes, chests, caskets, and coffins, and of stone furnishings. Wooden containers were associated with relatively high status burials; for example, casket burials were used by groups of higher than average status, as were stone cists (Williams and Zeepvat 1994: 93; Philpott 1991: 218). Nails of various types are often found in cremations and it is not always possible to ascribe a purpose to them. They may have been part of a casket or box, to hold or accompany the remains, but alternatively could have been part of the grave goods burnt on the pyre, a bier placed on the pyre, or even second-hand timber used in the cremation (Ivens *et al* 1995: 306-7). Many of the boxes and coffins in Table 5.9A were identified by the excavators solely on the basis of the presence of nails. Wooden grave furnishings, small boxes, caskets, larger boxes and chests, were defined after Philpott (3.7.2).

Wooden grave furnishings were widely, if sparsely, distributed over the study area. The only decorated casket came from a high status burial at Wavendon Gate (second century), while in BD only one small box (that is, undecorated casket) was found. In BD coffins were used for

some inhumations from the late first to fourth centuries, but in MK they were rarely in use in the later RB, and though present in second century *Magiovinium*, were absent in later periods. Philpott noted that wooden coffins were used in 'some' burials from the later second century onwards, but that they declined in the later fourth century. The first century inhumations at Radwell (BD) appear to be very early examples, but coffins were not unknown in the LIA and ERB periods (Philpott 1991: 53).

Table 5.10A records stone grave furnishings. Several reasons have been advanced for the use of stone in burial: stone packing may have been placed around or over bodies in order to protect them when future graves were dug above. There may have been a symbolic purpose for a stone covering, such as preventing the dead from rejoining the living (Barber and Bowsher 2000: 99). Philpott identified five types of stone cist or stone-lined grave (3.7.2), of which Type 3 (partial lining of grave pit with upright stones, often only around head or feet) applies to the Bletsoe examples and to some of those at Kempston (Philpott 1991: 61). However, many of the burials contained stones not apparently used as any form of packing, suggesting there was a symbolic purpose instead. An example is the second century burial at Marsh Leys Area 2, furnished with a pillow-stone and stones beneath the knees.

Throughout the whole period stone is only found in BD burials. A total of 33 burials at five locations in BD made use of stone in burial, from the second to the fourth century. All, apart from the possible finds at fourth century Sandy, were restricted to the area around the modern town of Bedford. At Kempston, the tradition was still visible in the seventh century, when the Phase 6 Saxon cemetery had three out of nine graves with limestone in some form in the grave.

The use of stone in inhumations clearly represented a long-term burial tradition in the area around Bedford. However, it has been noted that 26 out of 119 RB locations in Cambridgeshire employed stone coffins (Taylor 1993: 212-220). Lynch Farm and Ashton in Northamptonshire also produced stone-lined inhumations (Dawson 1994: 20; Philpott 1991: 62). Possibly the Bedford examples suggest some common traditions with the areas to the north and/or east.

5.2.7 Wealthy or other distinctive burial

Wealth in burial was defined as shown in Tables 3.9 and 3.10, and recorded in Tables 5.11A and 5.12A. Neither crouched nor extended inhumations were generally accompanied by grave goods, and therefore wealth was less likely to be manifested in burial in association with these rites. Indeed, in all periods, status in life was not necessarily reflect in death; for example, there may have been an ostentatious funeral ceremony but very little deposited with the body. Nevertheless, a richly furnished burial is likely to indicate wealth, even if a sparsely furnished one may not necessarily be evidence of poverty (Philpott 1991: 228-9).

Tables 5.11A and 5.12A show that only nine locations out of the 45 listed attained higher than Status 2 at any period, three in BD, but six in MK. No rural burials, at smaller sites or those unassociated with settlement, reached higher status than Level 2, except Monkston Area 2 and Wavendon Gate in MK, and the Biddenham Loop sites and Harrold Pit Odell in BD. The overall impression therefore for the whole study area is of relatively low status burials. Even where there were Level 3 burials, the remainder were of (much) lower status, showing the hierarchy in burial to which Philpott referred (2.8.3). No cremation wealthy enough to be categorised as of Welwyn type was recorded in the Level 2 data. Few burials (only Wavendon Gate and Thornborough cemetery and barrow) show evidence of continental grave goods as described by Philpott, that is, glass cremation vessels and glass phials, bronze decorated caskets, and lamps (Philpott 1991: 217-8).

As shown in Table 5.11A, only Bancroft mausoleum and Thornborough barrow could be classified as containing burials of Level 4 status. Although there is little evidence of more high status burials (Levels 3 and 4) in MK than in BD in the earlier periods, this was not the case from the second century onwards. From that period, higher status burials (Level 3) were found in Biddenham and Kempston only, while MK had two locations with burials of Level 4 status (Thornborough barrow and Bancroft mausoleum), and three with Level 3 (Wavendon Gate, Bancroft mausoleum, and Stanton Low).

Thornborough barrow is an example of a relatively rare tradition, restricted to a social elite mainly in south-east Britain, where around 100 are recorded (A Taylor 2001: 97). Barrows may have been constructed near earlier monuments to form links with the ancestral landscape, or near roads and tracks, where they were retained within the view and memory of local people (Esmonde Cleary 2000b: 137). This may have applied to the Thornborough barrows (of which there are thought to have been three originally), which were located close to the junction of several roads, a river crossing, and a temple. It is also possible that there were Bronze Age barrows here, but no ring ditches appear to have been observed. Further east in MK, similar mounds at Bury Fields, Newport Pagnell, and at Sherington, both adjacent to the Ouse, may have been high status burials, but remain unexcavated (Zeepvat and Radford in prep).

The mausoleum at Bancroft (Fig 5.11A) was a substantial stone construction, with a high level of architectural elaboration, in a prominent position overlooking the villa below. The chamber within contained pedestal scars, thought to have held two stone sarcophagi, and human remains representing at least two inhumations. There was also at least one cremation. The building is discussed further in 5.4.1.

Other distinctive burials include the two small cremation cemeteries at Harrold Pit, Odell, both of LIA date, where the earlier burials were unaccompanied but urned, while the slightly later

cemetery was distinguished by many pig bones, several bronze brooches, and 28 pots within the five cremation deposits. Was the difference in rite between the two groups due to fashion, or status? This is an interesting site, which is also discussed under ritual locations, as human skulls appear to have been used for ritual purposes here (5.3.1).

5.2.8 Infant burials

In the Iron Age, infant burials were made in enclosure ditches, while older children and adults were deposited in pits and graves (Philpott 1991: 97). In the RB period generally infants were disposed of in a similar informal manner, in ditches and pits, but also associated with buildings, sometimes under floors (Esmonde Cleary 2000b: 135-136). Separate areas were sometimes reserved for infants whether in parts of a villa courtyard, or in a more organised LRB cemetery (Philpott 1991: 97-98). Finds of infant remains at villa sites, particularly in association with agricultural processing equipment such as corn-driers, have been attributed to an attempt by women to regain control of agricultural production via fertility ritual. Most such infant burials, together with other ritual deposits, took place in the later RB period at a time of economic pressure – and hence perhaps of strain in social and gender relations (Scott 1991: 115-121).

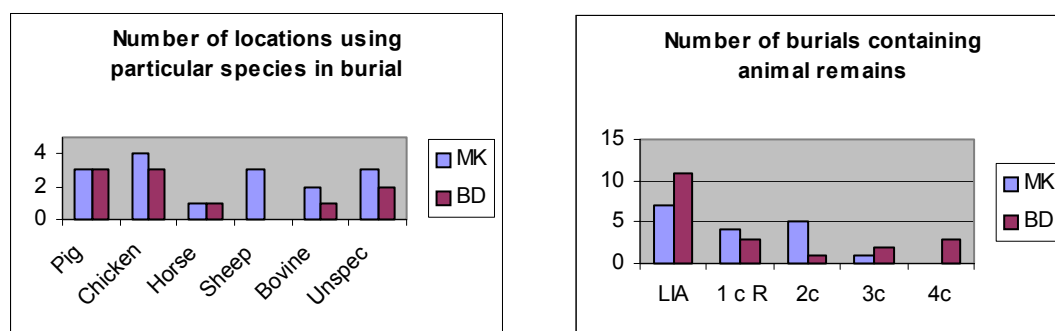
Table 5.13A lists infants and fetuses found in both burial or ritual context. A total of 47 infant and foetal burials and disposals were found throughout the study period and area. The contrast between the treatment of the baby in the coffin with an adult female, and the four babies under a floor, at approximately the same period (Stanton Low: second century), suggests status differences within the settlement. There is also an inter-site contrast between informal disposal of infants in third and fourth centuries, for example, at *Magiovinium*, and infants in the formal cemetery at Bletsoe. However, these patterns show no more variation than do burials of other age groups. Grave goods may have been scarce with infants, but were not found in all adult burials either.

Table 5.13A reveals that the study area conformed in most cases to Philpott's observations: there were LIA and ERB examples of ditch burial (for example Silverstone Fields Farm), burials in and around buildings (Stanton Low) and a more formal separate burial area (Bletsoe). The status accorded to some infants is of interest: for example at Kempston a foetus burial included an unusual (for an adult, let alone an infant) assemblage of a candle holder, pottery, animal bones and oyster shells. The infant burial at East Stagsden was also of possible higher status. The LIA burial of an infant, accompanied by a new-born foal and a large assemblage of ceramics, was surrounded by ditches, possibly to protect the grave. In the ERB, further ditches and a stone alignment appear to have been constructed to protect it (Dawson 2000a: 45-49) (Fig 5.12A).

There is no apparent regional pattern in the infant burials, which were found widely, though sparsely, throughout the whole study area. The location varied from boundary ditches, locations in or near buildings, to informal and formal cemeteries. Some of the Kempston burials were dispersed in backyard plots, and some in more formal contexts, but this applied equally to adults. There was only one example of LRB burial beneath the floor of a building, at Peartree Farm, BD. Six examples of foetal burial or ritual use are also listed, the former from Kempston and the latter from Biddenham, which lie across the Ouse from each other. This may be an example of a very localised tradition: equally it may be the result of difficulty in distinguishing the gestational age of foetuses, and the fact that the same archaeologists excavated both the sites (BCAS; Albion Archaeology). Luke points out that it is possible that foetus bones could be included in features by accident, but as this appears to happen rarely, possibly their inclusion in apparent ritual deposits is deliberate (in prep).

5.2.9 Animals in burial

Animals may have served several purposes in burial, as food for the dead, food for the living (funerary feasting), or sacrificial offerings. The provision of food for the dead suggests a belief in the afterlife, and was both an Iron Age and Roman tradition. Ritual killing of objects in a funerary context could also have extended to the sacrifice of animals. In this case, the sacrifice was made to the deceased, rather than a deity, but the dead often received the inedible parts as did the gods, while funeral guests, like worshippers, feasted on the prime meat (Philpott 1991: 237, 239).



Figures 5.13 and 5.14 Animal species in burial

Fig 5.13 shows the number of locations using the various species in burial, and Fig 5.14 the number of individual burials involved. The same information is shown in more detail in Table 5.14A.

There does not seem to be any correlation between the latter and the type of site, and the inclusion of meat animals in human burial appears to have been a very individual tradition specific to some sites, and not others. For example, Wavendon Gate produced 23 burials from the late first century to fourth century, but only two included animals – a LIA cremation had

three unburnt, but disarticulated chicken skeletons, while a mid second century cremation contained unspecified animal bone.

Only ten locations altogether used animals in burial (three in MK, and seven in BD). However, where present, faunal grave offerings are often found in a very large percentage of graves. Thus at Bancroft, of 18 cremations from LIA to late second century, all but four contained animal remains, some of several species (all unburnt except two examples). Furthermore, the species were often specific to the location: for example, at Odell, all five cremations (25-50AD) contained unburnt pig bone; however a slightly earlier cemetery of six graves contained no animals at all. Meanwhile, at Kempston cemetery, of 87 graves, only two contained animal remains. Even in the case of informal and dispersed cremations, only two were accompanied by animal remains (Phase 2 and 3), in the form of unburnt chicken bones.

At Biddenham, there was a wide range of mortuary rites, including one example of burnt pig bones in an otherwise unaccompanied LIA burial, while two first century (R) cremation cemeteries reveal different patterns. In Cemetery L39, seventeen graves grouped together were simple unaccompanied burials, except for one which contained a brooch and toiletry set. Meanwhile, the other group of graves (Grave Cluster G492) had twelve burials, all well furnished (Levels 2 and 3), but with no animal offerings. G493, a second-century peripheral cemetery, also of high status, contained uncooked pork joints in each of its three graves. It therefore appears that the use of animals in burial at Biddenham was reserved for those of higher status: alternatively, possibly some groups were displaying status in burial, while others did not, or could not. Meanwhile, at Bancroft animal remains were found in most of the burials, *regardless* of status. The difference was that the Bancroft burials were in one cemetery, whereas at Biddenham they were in separate groups, relating to different farmsteads in some cases, and therefore perhaps different families.

Pig was the most common species used in burial from LIA to second century, being used in a total of 12 burials. It was much in evidence in burials at Biddenham, where however it only made up a small proportion of domestic assemblages (Luke in prep: 32, 25). This was the case in most RB sites, and where pig bones were more frequent, this may have been due either to the higher status of the site, or perhaps a Gallo-Roman, or at least continental, origin of some of the inhabitants (Dobney 2001: 36-7). Pork was often chosen for feasting and hospitality, but also to accompany the dead in burial (Green 1986: 180).

There are also at least six occurrences of chicken in burials, of which two (one containing three birds), date to the LIA. Chickens were rare at that period, becoming more common in the RB period (Dawson 2000a: 117; Grant 2004: 377). Major towns, military sites, and some villas, produce more chicken remains than do rural sites. For example, chicken was present in the 15

out of 26 inhumations which contained animal remains at the East London cemetery (Barber and Bowsher 2000: 131). However, they are also more fragile and less likely to be preserved, so the true picture is difficult to assess (Maltby 1997: 412-3). Chicken and/or cockerels were closely associated in the Greco-Roman world with fertility, rebirth, and the underworld (Simoons 1994: 154), and hence the association with burial.

5.2.10 LRB burial rites

This section examines regional, non-Roman LRB rites which Philpott observed in rural areas, from Wessex to the south-east Midlands. These are decapitated and prone burial, and the use of shoes (revealed by hobnails) as grave goods (Philpott 1991: 225). A number of explanations have been advanced for the practice of decapitation, including execution, trophy collection, or the qualities perceived to be associated with the human head (Boylston *et al* 2000: 248).

Attempts have also been made to link LRB decapitation with a pre-existing 'Celtic' tradition (Wait 1995: 507-509). However, there is no evidence from the study area or elsewhere that decapitation was normal LIA practice, and Philpott refers to a later first century (AD) example at Cuxton, Kent, as 'ritually unusual' (Dawson 2004: 253; Philpott 1991: 55). Nevertheless, as noted in Chapter 2, skulls and severed heads were used for ritual purposes from the LIA onwards and decapitation, like these cults, may simply reflect a continuing interest in the 'power and totemic force of the severed head' (Philpott 1991: 84).

An early decapitation, of LIA date, was recorded at Saffron Gardens, Bletchley (Vaugh *et al* 1974: 373) (Table 5.5A). Otherwise, decapitations occurred only in the fourth century, in a ring ditch at Gayhurst Quarry (MK) (Table 5.4A), and at Kempston (Table 5.15). Cemeteries contemporary with Kempston, at nearby Bletsoe, and at Sandy, and in the MK area at *Magiovinium*, produced no evidence of decapitation in the Level 2 data. Decapitation did not occur at 'managed' urban cemeteries, and it has already been noted that Kempston did not fall into this category (5.2.3). Taylor suggested that the presence of migrant labour could have accounted for variation such as this (A Taylor 2001: 113, 123). However, since she also noted that decapitation was found in every LRB rural cemetery in Oxfordshire, it does not seem likely that all examples can be attributed to 'migrants'.

There were a total of twelve decapitations at Kempston, dating to the third and fourth centuries, that is, throughout the whole use of the cemetery. Only one of the decapitated burials was also prone, although the two rites have been linked (Dawson 2004: 322; Boylston *et al* 2000: 247) (Table 5.15). Prone burial, like decapitation, was probably not a traditional rite, but may have been an adaptation of the new rite of (extended) inhumation. There is also the possibility that prone burials may occasionally have been the result of a body, wrapped in a shroud, being deposited upside down in error (D.Mattingly, pers. comm.).

Table 5.15 Decapitated and prone burials at Kempston

	Ph 3 (mid 3-early 4)	Ph 4 (early-mid 4)	Ph 5 (mid-late 4)	Total
Decapitated	3	3	6	12
Prone	3	7	2	12

All the burials in Table 5.15 were deposited in the formal cemetery; at least three however appear to have been in the boundary ditch. Philpott stated that prone or decapitated burials were isolated from other burials, or excluded from cemeteries, but apart from these three prone burials, this does not seem to have been the case (Philpott 1991: 73). A prone burial was also noted in fourth century Fenny Lock (MK) (Inhumation 4338), in an area of other informal burials, some of which were cremations, even at this late stage. The only other prone burial recorded came from Biddenham Loop (BD) (F14, G185) and dated to the second century (or possibly earlier).

The decapitated burials were in many cases well furnished, with coffins and/or grave goods, and some, as already noted, distinguished by ritual enclosures. In contrast the prone burials were all simple and mostly unaccompanied. The only possibility advanced for the prone burials was that, buried in this position, they could not return to the community. Perhaps they were undesirables; judging by the grave treatment received by many of the decapitated, this did not apply to them (Boylston *et al* 2000: 252).

The decapitated burials at Kempston appear to be part of a phenomenon found south of the Fosse Way, from the late third century, but mainly in the fourth century, and associated with rural burial sites (as at Gayhurst) or those at villa and farmstead sites, rather than urban (Anderson 2001: 404). The difference between Kempston, with its lack of organisation, decapitation and prone burials, and Bletsoe, an ordered, if not managed, cemetery, is very stark. Yet both made use of stone as a grave furnishing, although at Bletsoe it was used more as a grave packing, and at Kempston, in a more random fashion. The conclusion must be either that there were different groups with very different rites, living in close proximity, or that some administrative control over burial practice was in force at Bletsoe, unlike Kempston.

The third aspect of LRB burial practice considered here is the use of shoes, revealed by hobnails. No doubt there were many more examples, but only those which were nailed have survived. Examples found in the study area are listed in Table 5.16A. There were at least 15, the earliest of which was a cremation, but the majority were of LRB date. However, only five locations are represented throughout the study area. There is therefore no observable pattern geographically. It is interesting that inhumations at both Kempston and Bletsoe contained hobnails in spite of their very different nature, discussed above: meanwhile, none were recorded

in the *Magiovinium* cemeteries. However, the latter were excavated at a time when perhaps such evidence was ignored or considered insignificant.

The hobnails vary in location in graves, on feet, not surprisingly, being most common, but in one case by the head. They may have been present in burials simply because the dead were buried fully clothed (Philpott 1991: 172). However, more ‘symbolic’ purposes have been ascribed to shoes, associated with their liminal position – on the feet – and with travel and movement, in this case, to the next world. They have also been interpreted as a substitute for a human sacrifice, deposited in its place in wells, shafts, or as foundation deposits (Van-Driel Murray 1999). An example of hobnails used in ritual context in the study area comes from Wilstead (Table 5.17A).

5.2.11 Summary

Overall, the evidence for burial location in the study area agrees with that described by Esmonde Cleary (2000b). In the LIA and first century (R), more sites had burial associated with settlement than did not. There was a general increase in sites without burial in the second century, reflecting the adoption of Roman traditions to bury away from settlement. There was also a great deal of diversity in burial location, both throughout the area and within sites. Deposition took place within settlements, as backyard burials, and in field systems, as well as in association with contemporary and earlier sacred sites. Isolated burials continued throughout the period, sometimes contemporary with dispersed or more formal group burials. Cemeteries in towns were more orderly in the LRB, yet only Bletsoe (BD) appears to have been a formal ‘managed’ cemetery. The main regional distinction is that in BD, there were more isolated burials and fewer group burials, suggesting some conservatism in this respect.

With reference to burial rite, in the earlier periods especially, relatively low numbers of dead may have received formal burial, and there is evidence, although sparse, of possible excarnation, throughout the study period. With regard to the more visible rites, the study area followed the general trends for the south-east as described by Philpott (2.8.2; 2.8.3), that is, cremation dominated burial practice in the LIA, and until later in the second century, but by the end of the second century, the majority rite was one of extended inhumation. Nevertheless, some cremations were still present even in the third century. Furthermore, an indigenous rite of crouched inhumation (or variations upon it) occurred alongside cremations in BD until at least the early second century.

In terms of accompanied and unaccompanied burials, there were examples of both throughout the study area, often alongside each other. There were also a few examples of broken and/or burnt grave goods throughout the whole period, in both MK and BD. Local tradition, the context of burial, and intrasite or intersite hierarchy, probably influenced this aspect of burial to

a great extent. However, there is some regional variation in grave furnishings in that in the early period more burials in MK used wooden containers in cremation, while only BD used stone grave furnishings, once inhumation had been adopted there. Moreover, this was specifically in the north and/or east of BD.

The great majority of burials were of relatively low status. Even where some higher status burials were present at a site, most will have been less wealthy, suggesting hierarchy within sites. In the LIA and first century (R), levels of wealth in burial were similar in BD and MK, but from the second century onwards, wealth was displayed in burial more widely in MK than BD, and only MK had examples of Level 4 status.

Infant burial appears to conform to patterns elsewhere, apart from the localised use of infants or foetuses in one restricted part of BD. Meanwhile, animals were used in burial in a number of sites, in both burnt and unburnt form, apparently at funerary feasts and as grave goods for the dead, throughout the study period. They were as likely to be used in low status burials as in wealthier ones, and there was little regional distinction; animal use appeared to be the custom at some sites, while not present at all at others. However, although overall numbers were low, rather more were found in BD than MK. It is noticeable that pig was only found in BD, apart from Bancroft, once again suggesting early links between BD (and the elite MK site of Bancroft) and the Continent.

Finally, with regard to LRB rites, a few decapitations and prone burials were found in the study area, almost solely at the informal cemetery at Kempston. This may be a local, indigenous, development, perhaps a reaction to outside influences, in an area which had a number of distinctively different rituals. Nevertheless, the third element of Philpott's LRB rites, shoes or hobnails, were found in a couple of other sites in the study area, conforming to his distribution pattern extending from Wessex to the south-east Midlands (1991: 225).

5.3 Ritual behaviour

5.3.1 Ritual deposition

This section covers a variety of ritual deposition, excluding animal deposits and those of deliberately broken goods, which are discussed below. The deposits listed in Table 5.17A are in most cases those identified by the excavators. Table 5.17A demonstrates the wide variety of deposit type found, and, in some locations, shows continuity of practice. It is not possible to categorise all ritual deposits, for many could fall into several categories, but below are examples which appear to fit into particular types.

Although human sacrifice was in the past thought 'unthinkable' and un-Roman', it is now considered credible. Foundation deposits were a prime example, for founding a building could

not necessarily wait upon a death. It is far more likely that a sacrifice would have been made (Isserlin 1997: 96). The examples from the temples at Cosgrove and Thornborough could be described as foundation deposits. As already noted (Table 5.6A), human skulls were used in several locations and contexts in the study area. There is no record of any treatment, such as defleshing, which these might have received. However, some of the skulls mentioned in the excarnation section could have been the results of sacrifice, likely examples being those at Harrold Pit, Odell, and Marsh Leys. The Cosgrove skulls were possibly worshipped in the temple, and like those at Folly Lane, displayed on a pole (Green 1998: 180-181). Only three examples of infant/foetal deposits – in ritual rather than burial – were found in the study area, all at Biddenham sites, in early contexts. As already stated (5.2.8), this appears to have been a very localised rite, possibly restricted to one small community.

There are a couple of examples of possible animal sacrifice in the study area. At Marsh Leys, a first century deposit in a posthole near a possible shrine included the remains of two chickens (Albion 2002b: 23). At Wavendon Gate a cockerel was also found in a third century posthole, beneath an almost complete jar. The bird had been killed, defleshed and disarticulated before deposition, possibly as a sacrifice before a cult post was erected: nearly was a possible ritual pit, where the ‘Taranis’ wheel was found (5.4.2). These, together with the dog at West Stagsden, were the only ones noted as possible sacrifices by the excavators; however, others in Tables 5.17A and 5.18A could of course have originated as animal sacrifices.

Examples of possible votive deposits included those in Kempston Pit G552, which included a hoard of 17 coins, a Bronze Age palstave (6.8.3), a lead die, a nail, and a copper ribbon strip bracelet. The pit beneath the fourth century circular shrine at Bancroft mausoleum also contained likely votive offerings and the flask built into the wall of the well at Cosgrove may have had a similar purpose.

Finally, there were several examples of structured deposition. The Marston Moretaine and Ursula Taylor School deposits also appear to fit this category. At Mill Farm, Cardington, two LRB inhumations were found in upper fills of a ring ditch (see Table 5.3A). Near the ring ditch were a series of ditches, one of which terminated just beyond the inner ditch. It is therefore thought that a barrow mound was still visible at this stage. There were a number of deposits in the RB ditches, which appeared to be in some kind of pattern, that is, a few parts of one ditch received the deposits – bone, large quantities of pottery, and at least three soles of hobnail boots – while the rest of the ditches were empty (Clark 1990b: 10). However, it is equally possible that this section of ditch simply happened to be the most convenient for rubbish disposal.

5.3.2 Animal burials

This section deals with animals deposited separately from other items, rather than in burials or ritual deposits generally. The practice of depositing whole, or articulated partial, animal remains reflects the significance that animals played in IA life, continuing into the RB period, even in places where Roman material culture had been adopted (Grant 2004: 386). In the later RB period, together with other ‘unusual’ practices, it became even more common in some locations, and has been attributed to a revival of Iron Age customs (Scott 1991).

Dogs were frequently buried in IA/RB ritual contexts, such as temples and shrines, pits and wells. They held many associations including healing and guarding, and in contrast death and hunting. They were also used in urban foundation deposits, for example, at Dorchester, and were particularly common at Silchester (Woodward and Woodward 2004: 73, 78; Fulford 2001: 202, 207).

The other species used frequently in ritual context was horse. Horses held military, economic, cultural, religious and prestige value, as well as being related to fertility, and several deities, for example, Epona, were associated with them (Green 1986: 171-6). It has been suggested that there may have been a taboo on eating horse and dogs (Simoons 1994: 187), which might account for the fact that in the LIA and RB periods, few appear to have been consumed, judging by the lack of butchery marks and the fact that many bones were complete or even articulated (Sykes 2004).

As shown in Table 5.18A, animal burials are found throughout the study area during the LIA and RB period. There are up to 27 examples of animal deposition, in 11 locations (6 in MK, 5 in BD), and the majority of animal deposits were in rural non-elite locations. Furthermore, the great majority were found in pits or ditches in settlements, and only two examples in association with known formal religious locations, at Thornborough temple, possibly a foundation deposit, and Bancroft mausoleum (the later shrine). However, at least four examples come from Wavendon Gate, which is known to have practised numerous ‘unusual’ rituals.

The most frequently deposited species was horse. While at least 11 separate horse burials were found, they were not included within ritual deposits, and only very rarely in human burial. This may reflect the prestigious and symbolic role held by the horse. It might therefore be expected that these valuable animals would only be found in higher status sites, yet, apart from the example at Thornborough temple, and Wavendon, which had elite and ritual associations, all examples (and the foal and neonate burial at East Stagsden) were in otherwise low status sites.

A study of the animal species deposited in RB temples, seemingly as rubbish from ceremonial meals eaten by worshippers as much as sacrifice, indicates a predominance of sheep/goat, followed by cow/ox and pig. The former were more common in the earlier, and the latter in the

later, RB period. This could reflect the dietary changes known to have taken place, but, again, religion may well account for it instead (King 2005: 357-359). Bancroft mausoleum site, together with Witham and Folly Lane, has been described as a temple site producing deposits with larger than average proportions of horse remains. However, in the case of Bancroft, the animal remains for both villa and mausoleum site were grouped together and the only deposits specifically associated with the LRB shrine were part of a pig in the central pit, and an articulated goat skeleton in another pit outside the shrine (King 2005: 346-347, 360) (Tables 5.17A and 5.18A).

Nor were animal remains recorded specifically for the temple building at Cosgrove. The assemblage from the whole site – villa and temple – included ‘more than usual’ amounts of horse remains, although as the 30 fragments were mainly teeth, these could represent just one animal (Quinnell 1991: 53). There were only two examples of pig in ritual deposits, and none as animal burials, while this species was the most popular in human burials (5.2.9). Pigs were also used as votive offerings at shrines and temples, as at Titchmarsh (Curteis *et al* 1999: 173), but this does not seem to have been the case in the study area. This suggests regional variations in the type of animals considered suitable as burial as opposed to votive offerings. However, the evidence suggests little difference in animal deposition between the two case study areas.

5.3.3 Deliberately damaged goods

This section covers goods which were apparently deliberately damaged, including those in burials. Contexts are given where available. Several reasons have already been advanced for the deliberate damage or destruction of artefacts (3.7.3). An additional suggestion is that, as at Wakerley in Northamptonshire, vessels were deliberately ‘killed’ by smashing, and deposited instead of the remains of the dead, as a surrogate burial. The bodies themselves would perhaps have been disposed of by excarnation (Gwilt 1997: 160).

Table 5.19A indicates the different types of deliberate destruction or ritual killing which took place in the study area. Several items other than ceramics were found, including the bent metal objects from Kempston, which were associated with broken potsherds, and therefore likely to have been ritually broken (Philpott 1991: 238). The IA wheel-headed pin from Wavendon (Table 5.21A) also appears to have been violently bent, perhaps to make it acceptable as a ritual offering (Green 1996: 116). The foal and neonate burial at East Stagsden, where the animal’s head was removed from the body (but replaced in the correct position), is another possible example (5.2.8). There was a continuing tradition from the IA to the fourth century in a few locations, eight of which are in BD. Only five locations in MK produced deliberately damaged items, and three of these were of high status or ritual nature. In contrast, the BD examples were all in non-elite rural sites, except for those in Kempston, also of relatively low status.

5.3.4 Summary

Ritual deposits in general were relatively common in the study area throughout the whole period, but particularly in LIA and the first century (R). Animal burials in particular were found over the whole area, and no regional distinction was visible. They were not confined to particular types of site, and it is noticeable that horse burials were sometimes found even in low status sites. Furthermore, in some locations, such as Wavendon, a long-standing tradition of animal burials was apparent. Likewise, there was continuity in the custom of depositing deliberately damaged goods in several places throughout both study area and period.

Overall, the evidence for the study area confirms the pervasiveness of ritual behaviour in Roman Britain. While there is insufficient urban evidence to confirm Fulford's view that there was no distinction between town and country practice, the nature of the deposits in the study area – mainly pits and ditches – indicate that ritual activity was closely bound up in everyday activity, particularly the disposal of rubbish (Fulford 2001: 215-216; Hill 1995).

On a regional basis, ritual deposits were much more common in the BD area in the LIA and ERB periods. However, during the third and fourth centuries, there were a few more examples in MK. All the BD finds (except fourth century Kempston) were in rural non-elite locations, while in MK, the majority were in high status or larger sites. In the case of deliberately damaged items, and the use of human skulls and foetuses, there were more examples in BD than MK. This again underlines the possibility that unusual practices took place more frequently in BD non-elite sites, but were mainly confined to higher status or ritual sites in MK.

5.4 Ritual and religious locations and symbols

5.4.1 Locations

This section covers temples, shrines and possible ritual enclosures, which are listed in Table 5.20A and described in detail in Appendix 3. Other Level 2 sites where religious or ritual activity may have taken place are also discussed.

Table 5.20A indicates that while all early ritual locations were in BD rural sites, all later examples of second-century date onwards were in MK, except those at Kempston. Thus the early BD examples consisted in three cases of square or rectangular enclosures (Plantation and Redlands Quarries, Willington, and Marsh Leys), thought to have contained shrines, while the fourth, at Biddenham, was a small square post-built structure (Figs 5.15A to 5.18A). Meanwhile, the more substantial temples at Bancroft (Fig 5.11A), Thornborough (Fig 5.19A), and Cosgrove (Fig 5.20A) were recognised by their shape and similarity to other Romano-Celtic examples elsewhere in Britain.

However, although Kempston, Thornborough and Cosgrove all contained evidence in the form of deposits of coins, metal items and votives, none appears to have been found associated with the mausoleum. The cremation within it has been called a foundation deposit (Williams and Zeepvat 1994: 90) but could equally well have been a lower status or earlier burial, rather than an instance of ritual. The building was identified as a temple/mausoleum by analogy to examples similar in form, such as Wood End Lane, Hemel Hempstead: yet the latter, containing neither burials nor votives, was thought more likely to be a mausoleum only (Neal 1984: 195-197). However, the excavators identified the LRB shrine at Bancroft mausoleum by the presence of votives, and a pig burial (Williams and Zeepvat 1994: 101, 107). There was a tradition in the south-east Midlands of using the temple form for mausolea. However, this does not mean that they functioned as temples. Nevertheless, it is possible that some form of family worship of ancestors may have taken place here (Williams and Zeepvat 1994: 100). Certainly the elaborate building would have impressed and acted as a symbol of the family's status. However, the case for Bancroft mausoleum as a temple remains unproven.

The Kempston example (Fig 5.21A) is of particular interest because it appeared to have been associated with a cemetery, which, according to Philpott, is almost unknown in Britain, due to the separation between funerary and religious cult (Philpott 1991: 236). Thornborough temple is thought to have been part of a large complex, conveniently situated where five roads crossed the river Twin (Lewis 1992: 22) (6.7.2). The Cosgrove temple, located on the Ouse near its confluence with the Tove, might also have acted as an 'estate' or 'proprietary' shrine (Quinnell 1991: 62-63).

Two other sites were identified solely from associated finds and ritual deposits. Wavendon Gate produced numerous items and features of possible ritual or religious significance, unlike most excavated RB sites which provide little or no evidence of supernatural beliefs (Williams *et al* 1996: 89). The identification of Roxton as a site of ritual or religious activity is rather more speculative. Here LIA and RB enclosures partly cover a BA barrow cemetery adjacent to the Ouse, and large amounts of LIA cattle remains stained with red ochre, possibly for ritual reasons, were excavated. It is suggested that the site was also sacred in RB times, due to the presence of two Venus figurines. These are thought to have been associated with water cults and were perhaps votive offerings at a possible shrine, as at *Condate*, at the confluence of the Rhône and Saône (Taylor and Woodward 1983: 20).

5.4.2 Ritual or religious symbols

This section examines artefacts with likely or definite ritual or religious significance found in the Level 2 data. Some categories are discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, together with Level 3 finds. Table 5.21A records religious items according to dated contexts.

Mercury was one of the most widely attested Roman gods worshipped in Roman Britain, and the ram and the cockerel were two of his associates (Green 1994: 321). However, it is possible that they were also associates in British cults. Three such examples were found in the Level 2 data, a model of a ram at Fenny Stratford, and two cockerels, of bronze and stone, at Bancroft villa. The latter appears to have been broken from a larger statue, suggesting that there may have been a shrine to Mercury here (Green 1994: 321). The only other classical deity of which there is evidence is Jupiter, who may have been identified with Taranis (see below). Votive axes, of which there are several from the area, have also been linked with Jupiter/Taranis worship, and an axe-headed pin found in LRB context at Ruxox, in south Bedfordshire could be associated with Taranis (Dawson 2004: 27). The ceremonial tripod from Stanton Low bore a panther head and claws on its legs, suggesting a possible association with the cult of Bacchus (Woodfield 1989: 221).

One possible example of an eastern deity, in the form of a figurine identified as Isis, was found near Thornborough Temple. She was possibly worshipped there; however, she could have been conflated with Fortuna, or been subsumed into a local fertility goddess (Green 1983: 139-141). If Isis was worshipped here in her own right, this would have been very rare for a rural site, even an apparently large religious complex with an elite barrow burial in the proximity. Eastern cults were very rare in rural shrines (Mattingly 2006: 484), and no other such evidence was found in the Level 2 data.

Minor deities include two intaglios depicting Ceres, or Fides Publica (Neal 1987: 57), and the Venus figurines from Roxton (5.4.1). The sculpture from Windmill Hill (4.4.7), possibly representing a sphinx, may have been a cult object (Zeepvat and Radford in prep). In addition, there is an unidentified sculpture from Sandy of apparent religious nature. It portrays three figures, of whom the central is a male who appears to be sacrificing, while the figure on its left appears to be a draped female, possibly a goddess (Fig 5.22A). They were carved on a large stone which could have been built into a structure (and from which Sandy has received the classification of AE3). The style draws on classical imagery but appears to use native treatment, for example, for hair and faces (Huskinson 1994: 11-12).

There also appears to have been a solar cult at Wavendon Gate, possibly LIA onwards, judging by the wheel-headed pin of second century BC date. Wheels have been equated with the solar cult of Taranis because the wheel represents the rays of the sun (Green 1986: 39-43). The so-called Taranis wheel from Wavendon, carved in wood, may have been a votive offering, or perhaps displayed on a post. The small copper alloy wheel models found nearby may have been talismans, or had some other connection with the cult (Green 1996: 155). The wheel symbol may also be related to Jupiter worship: a Spanish army officer dedicated an altar to Tanarus/Taranis, pairing him with Jupiter (Green 2004: 214). Furthermore, at Farley Heath

temple a wheel model was found alongside a Jupiter-Taranis image (Jones and Mattingly 1990: 267). Native cult may therefore have been conflated with Roman at Wavendon.

A number of miniature weapons were found in the study area. These, especially axes, were frequent in south-east Britain, and are thought to have been used as votive items in temples, as may have been the case for the spearheads from Bancroft mausoleum. Using a model rather than its full size equivalent might have been a measure of economy or convenience, but could also have made the item more acceptable to the gods, in the same way that ritual breaking of an object de-functionalises it (Green 1981: 61). Altogether, 16 examples of miniature weapons were found in the area, in four locations. They were all of LRB date; however, a miniature dagger found at Brafield, near the River Nene, has been dated to the LIA period (Friendship-Taylor and Hollowell 1993: 149-151).

Of the other artefacts with a possible symbolic meaning, the snake-head bracelet from *Magiovinium* represents a type which is discussed further in 6.7.3. One particular artefact suggests private or family devotion. A bronze *patera* found at Olney Hyde, near Ashfurlong, may have been used for libations to the *lares* and *penates* of the household, representing a possible example of Roman religious practice in a rural site, albeit one of moderately high status (4.4.6). This type of *patera* was made in the late first century AD in Campania (Petchey 1979: 35-39) and since, it was found in LRB context, represents a possible example of curation (Table 6.34A).

5.4.3 Summary

The Level 2 data contain relatively few ritual or religious locations of any date. Ritual or religious symbols are found equally sparsely in the study area, and, apart from the IA wheel-headed pin, all such finds date to the second century onwards. Furthermore, most examples appear to derive from larger or high status sites, or those with ritual associations, and only two from small rural sites.

There is a sharp divide between the case study areas with respect to both ritual and religious locations and symbols. While all locations in the LIA and first century (R) are found in BD, although an earlier temple may have existed at Thornborough, stone-built temples or shrines were only found in the MK area, apart from Kempston. Likewise, the few examples of classical symbolism come predominantly from MK, while examples of minor/local deities are found in both areas. However, votive items – miniature weapons – were found in later phases in both MK and BD, albeit in small numbers. The main conclusion in this section is therefore that formal and Roman-influenced religion was predominantly visible only in MK.

5.5 Conclusion

Chapter 4 concluded that, in spite of early adoption of new types of material culture in BD in the LIA period, from the later first century onwards MK caught up and overtook BD, producing much more evidence of a high status nature, while in BD the lifestyle of most communities remained at a more moderate level.

Chapter 5 has revealed that, once more, there were intimations of wealth in BD in the LIA, in the form of a few high status burials, and of possible early contact with the continent, indicated by the use of pig in burial. However, in other aspects of human disposal, especially the retention of crouched inhumation, BD lagged behind MK. BD also practised rather more unusual ritual. Meanwhile, from the second century onwards, high status burials were found predominantly in MK. There is also some evidence that there was an increase in ritual behaviour generally in MK in the LRB period.

Above all, the underlying theme is that the great majority of formal religious locations and indications of worship influenced by Rome were present in MK. The results therefore of the Level 2 analysis are that while the study area does not differ greatly from the national trends discussed in Chapter 2, there are some significant regional differences, which will be explored further in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6 Testing the patterns

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of analysis of the Level 3 data, which are then used to confirm, or otherwise, those of Level 2. The first two questions posed in Chapter 1 are then addressed:

- 1 How did LIA communities express their identity, and were there any perceptible differences within the study area?
- 2 How, and in which spheres of life, did identity and social change vary after the Roman conquest within the study area?

Finally, the main themes revealed so far, on which will be based the regional comparisons in Chapter 7, are selected. Throughout, unless otherwise stated, italicised entries in tables represent Level 2 data, while Level 3 results are shown in plain font.

6.2 Distribution of sites

6.2.1 Introduction

Figure 6.1A shows the distribution of all Level 2 and Level 3 sites and finds. Comparison with Fig 4.1A, which shows Level 2 sites only, reveals that a large number of Level 3 sites and finds are in areas where no excavations have taken place. These are the results of local society fieldwalking during the 1960s and 1970s, mainly on the higher lands to the north of the Ouse. To the south of the Ouse, particularly in MK, they are mainly due to recent metal detection. The fact that less occupation or possible occupation sites have been found in the northern BD area could be because, while activity there was widespread (6.12), actual occupation evidence was more ephemeral. Further south, to the west of Bedford, the area of Stagsden, Turvey and Cranfield, is also relatively empty. However, it must be borne in mind that parts of Turvey parish (Picts Hill Estate and Turvey Abbey) consist of unploughed parkland, and that some of Cranfield, covered by the airfield and university, is also uninvestigated.

Occupation of the claylands was thought to have been limited in the LIA/RB period, but recent vertical aerial photographs (1996) have proven that, in Bedfordshire at least, although there was still relatively more exploitation of gravel soils, settlement was denser than previously thought. Furthermore, Oxford clay revealed less settlement than did boulder clay, though this could be due to the differences in cropmark visibility (Mills 2005: 119-122, Fig 57). An example of settlement on boulder clay revealed by cropmarks and confirmed by second to fourth century pottery finds is a dense complex at Northend Farm, Great Barford (Fig. 6.2A).

Further west in the study area, the higher claylands between the Ouse, and south of Salcey Forest and Yardley Chase, have produced evidence of many LIA/RB farmsteads. Examples are Black Furlong, Ravenstone (Fig. 6.3A), which yielded ceramic evidence of first to fourth century date, and Woodlands Farm, Weston Underwood, where pottery of IA, LIA and all RB periods was found (Table 3.12A).

6.2.2 Site distribution and chronology

This section examines settlement sites only, and does not include isolated or random finds. Occupation and possible occupation sites are defined in 3.9.2. Cropmarks were also used as evidence for settlement, in the form either of agricultural enclosures, indicating that there was occupation nearby, or, where the complex was denser, settlement.

Occupation and possible occupation sites are shown in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Occupation and possible occupation sites (Level 2 and Level 3 data)

	LIA L3	LIA L2	LIA Total		RB L3	RB L2	RB Total
Study area (occupation)	47	34	81		108	68	176
Study area (poss occ)	36	-	36		158	-	158
MK (occupation)	31	13	44		68	39	107
MK (poss occ)	21	-	21		102	-	102
BD (occupation)	16	19	35		40	23	63
BD (poss occ)	15	-	15		56	-	56

Note that some sites in Table 6.1 have both LIA and RB phases. The overall number of occupation and possible occupation sites (regardless of date) is shown in Table 6.2, and in Fig. 6.4A.

Table 6.2 Overall number of occupation and possible occupation sites

	Level 3	Level 2	Total
Study area	303	82	385
MK	195	49	244
BD	108	33	141

It can be seen that there was a considerable increase in RB sites in the study area, compared to the earlier period: that is, a doubling in the number of occupation sites, and a trebling in the number of possible occupation sites. This might be partially explained by the fact that the LIA period covered around 150 years, while the RB period lasted around 350. Also, RB building materials were more durable and therefore more visible than earlier construction methods. In

addition, RB ceramics, in particular amphorae, mortaria and samian, were easily recognised, even by nineteenth century antiquarians who were responsible for many SMR finds.

Regionally, while the number of LIA sites in MK and BD was very similar, for the RB period MK had around 50% more occupation and possible occupation sites than BD. Dawson has suggested that in Bedfordshire there may have been a relative decline in occupation sites after the LIA period: as already noted, sites with RB artefacts are more easily identified than their LIA predecessors, which had less durable material culture. As a result even more RB sites might be expected. Dawson accounts for this potential decline in numbers by suggesting that villa estates and small settlements near villas, or on the periphery of estate boundaries, took the place of farms spread throughout the countryside (Dawson 2004: 75-76). Villas and villa estates are discussed further in 6.3.2 and 7.9.4.

Certainly, from current evidence, BD does not show the same increase in settlement density in the RB period as does MK, especially in the second century. However, this may have been due to less investment in Roman building materials, and metal goods: poverty, or status display via possessions which are archaeologically invisible, may therefore account for this.

Table 6.3 shows L2 and L3 sites which had both LIA and RB phases, and Table 6.4 shows those which appear to have been founded in the RB period.

Table 6.3 Sites with LIA/RB continuity

	Study area		MK		BD	
<i>L2 data</i>	21	26%	9	18%	12	37%
L3 data	66	22%	38	19%	28	26%
Totals	87	23%	47	19%	40	28%

Table 6.3 indicates that there were rather more sites with continuity in BD than MK, while Table 6.4 demonstrates that MK had more than double the *number* of new sites in the RB period compared to BD. The *proportion* of new sites in BD was, however, 60%, compared to 81% in MK. Table 4.1, based on the Level 2 data, shows that this increase, far greater in MK than BD, took place in the second century. Unfortunately the Level 3 data cannot be as concisely dated.

Table 6.4 Sites founded in RB period

	Study area		MK		BD	
<i>L2 data</i>	47	57%	34	69%	13	40%
L3 data	236	78%	164	84%	72	67%
Totals	283	74%	198	81%	85	60%

Taken together, the tables indicate that the conquest brought more change in settlement pattern to MK (where more sites were newly founded) than to BD (where there was more continuity of occupation).

Table 6.5 lists cropmark complexes analysed for the study area, and the dates ascribed to them, as discussed in 3.10.4. ‘Non-proven’ sites were identified morphologically, and ‘proven’ sites were those also dated by archaeological finds. Thus, of the 92 cropmarks, only 21 had proven LIA/RB continuity. There were more proven sites with IA/RB occupation in BD, but, as already noted, many more aerial photographs were available for BD. Conversely, there were more proven, newly-established, RB sites for MK than BD. Taken together, while this does not confirm the results in Tables 6.3 and 6.4, it certainly does not contradict it.

Table 6.5 Cropmark types

		Study area	MK	BD
Non-proven	Prehistoric	8	4	4
	General IA/RB	50	12	38
Proven	LIA	3	1	2
	RB	10	3	7
	Both LIA and RB	21	6	15
Total		92	26	66

Examples of sites (L2 and L3) known to have been occupied in both LIA and RB periods are Blackfurlong, Ravenstone (Fig 6.3A) and Peartree Farm, Elstow (Fig 6.5A). An example of a site which has produced no finds, but which by visual analogy also appears to be of LIA/RB type, is Blunham (6.6A).

6.2.3 Settlement size and type

Most known large settlements in the study area have been excavated, and are therefore covered in the Level 2 analysis. The same size definitions were used for Level 3 settlements as those of Level 2 (3.5.3). Table 6.6 contains larger centres found in both levels of data. Where a site is also known to have been occupied in the LIA, this is indicated. Figs 6.7A and 6.8A show all Size 3 and Size 2 settlements.

Table 6.6 Larger settlements

	MK	LIA occ	BD	LIA occ
Size 3	Ashfurlong	x	Willington/Cople	
	Evenley	x	<i>Sandy</i>	x

	Haversham	<i>x</i>	<i>Kempston</i>	
	Willen Road, Caldecotte, Newport Pagnell	<i>x</i>		
	<i>Magiovinium</i>			
	<i>Stanton Low</i>	<i>x</i>		
Size 2	<i>Bancroft villa</i>		<i>Warren Villas</i>	<i>x</i>
	<i>Wavendon Gate</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>Warren Villas quarry</i>	
	<i>Syresham</i>		<i>Marsh Leys Area A</i>	<i>x</i>
	<i>Salford Quarry</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>Marsh Leys Area B</i>	<i>x</i>
			<i>Biddenham Loop F8</i>	<i>x</i>
			<i>Biddenham Loop F13/14</i>	<i>x</i>
			<i>Harrold Kiln</i>	
			<i>Roxton</i>	

There were a total of nine large settlements (Size 3) in the study area, six of which were in MK. Meanwhile, there were a total of 12 Size 2 sites, four in MK and eight in BD. However, it should be noted that six of the Size 2 sites in BD consist of two adjacent settlements, and these might in fact represent three contiguous sites, as in the case of Haversham, for example (3.9.2). Cropmarks are available for Ashfurlong, a large apparently nucleated settlement, located at the junction of several roads which are clearly visible (Fig 6.29A), and Willington/Cople (Fig 6.28A) (6.10). The LRB cemetery at Bletsoe must have served a community of some size: although the nearby occupation site does not seem to have been a villa (as proposed by Dawson), it is likely that a larger settlement existed in the vicinity.

Most of the Level 3 sites were indicated by surface finds of occupation debris and some sites may have been much larger than this evidence suggested. Nevertheless, on the basis of current knowledge, it appears that the great majority of sites in the study area, in both LIA and RB periods, were small farmsteads.

6.2.4 Summary

Analysis of both Level 2 and Level 3 data shows that although LIA sites were dispersed widely over the study area, throughout the period those in BD were focused largely on rivers. While a higher proportion of BD sites had LIA/RB continuity than in MK, the number of sites in BD remained relatively stable throughout the RB period. This was not however the case in MK, where there was a rapid increase especially in the second century. Furthermore, these sites in MK, from the first century (R) onwards, appeared to show a preference for locations near land routes rather than rivers.

The analysis of settlement type and size shows that while the majority of sites throughout were of small or medium size, there were relatively more Size 3 sites in MK, and more Size 2 sites in

BD. Nevertheless, virtually all high status sites (villas, temples, elite burials) appear to have been in MK.

6.3 Material culture: architecture

6.3.1 Introduction

Evidence of structures in the Level 3 data was limited: for example, where roundhouses were recorded, in the absence of accurate dating the information was of little use. However, stone and tile were more easily visible than less permanent building materials and occurrences in the SMR data were frequently recorded.

6.3.2 Evidence

As shown in Table 6.7A, while there is no evidence of LIA rectangular building in MK in either Levels 2 or 3 data, BD produced two further examples (Mile Road, Eastcotts and Crosshill, Staploe) to add to that of Warren Villas. Together with the first century (R) examples shown in Table 4.8A, this shows that six possible rectangular buildings existed in BD, and two in MK, in these early periods. The Level 3 data also produced three more examples of LRB roundhouses, all in MK (Table 6.8A), thus confirming the presence of rather more late roundhouses, several of which were stone-built, in MK than BD. There is also further evidence of possible contemporary round and rectangular structures: for example, a recent excavation in Ravenstone village revealed RB occupation, of first to third century date, and two stone-founded buildings. One was circular, and one rectangular (ASC 2003). The second example is the ‘roundhouse villa’ at Rines Hill, discussed below.

The presence of stone constructions, or of stone scatters likely to represent buildings, is of interest, even if not closely dated. Table 6.9A and Fig 6.9A display both definite stone and stone-founded buildings, and possible stone buildings. There were nearly five times as many locations with stone buildings, or possible stone buildings, in MK as BD (51:11), which considerably extends the pattern shown in Chapter 4. Even when the number of RB sites in both areas is taken into account, this still indicates that stone buildings were much more common in MK. Based on the total number of occupation and possible occupation sites in MK and BD for the RB period (209 and 119 respectively) (Table 6.1), this represents 24% in MK, compared to 9% in BD.

Architectural elaboration was the next topic examined. Tables 6.10A and 6.11A list occupation and possible occupation sites, together with levels of architectural elaboration, in both Levels 2 and 3 data. Sites which lack elaboration (AE0) are not listed, and those with AE3 are covered below. Fig 6.10 shows the relative proportions of architectural elaboration types in MK and BD.

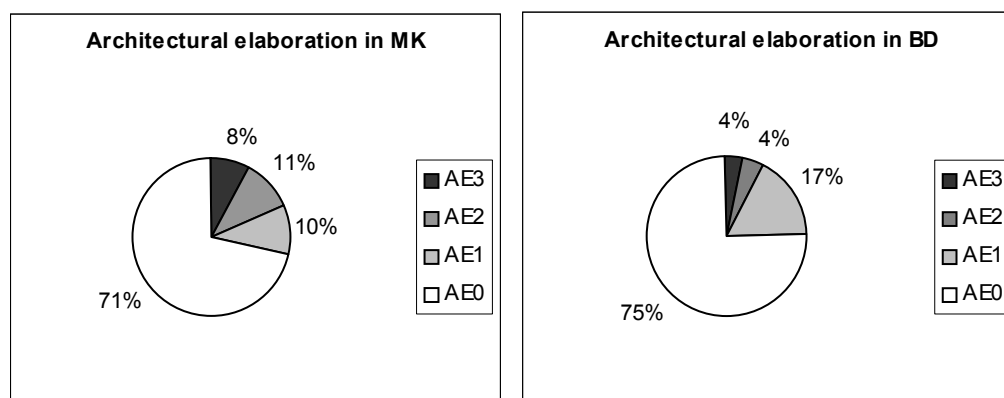


Figure 6.10 Architectural elaboration in MK and BD

Tables 6.10A and 6.11A, and Figure 6.10, reveal that there were similar proportions of sites in both areas with no architectural elaboration at all. However, relatively more BD sites had AE1, and noticeably less sites had AE2 or AE3, than did MK, indicating a more defined site hierarchy in MK, and again extending the Level 2 results. Fig 6.11A displays the information via a map.

Finally, the Level 3 data were examined for possible villas. The gazetteer of Roman villas compiled by Scott (1993a) was not used, as in some cases evidence consisted merely of stone, tile and pottery scatter. As in the Level 2 analysis, the presence of AE3, together with evidence of a villa layout, was the qualification here. Table 6.12A lists putative villas, together with the classification given them in this research. For the MK area, nine villas in the vicinity of Potterspury were proposed (Meek *et al* 2000: 4). In addition, Table 6.12A includes Stanton Low and Tingewick, which are further from Potterspury, but have been attributed villa status elsewhere (Woodfield 1989; Buckinghamshire SMR). Of these 11 sites, Bancroft, Cosgrove, Stanton Low and Stantonbury were judged as being of villa status (4.4.7), and Wymbush was categorised as AE2, in the L2 analysis (4.4.6). Of the remaining Level 3 sites in Table 6.12A, Dovecote Farm and Wakefield Lodge were allocated AE3 status, and Tingewick AE2. The three L3 sites which could be considered villas by the terms of this research are Whittlebury, Deanshanger and Foscott.

Table 6.12A also includes 11 putative villas for BD. These were proposed by Dawson, who optimistically described them as ‘possible substantial farms or villa estates with stone-built houses’, but noted few had been investigated (Dawson 2004: 74). These included the four AE2 sites in Table 6.11A (Colworth, Marsh Farm (Carlton) (Fig 6.30A), South Field (Biddenham) and Radwell) and the three high status (AE3) sites (Tempsford, Newnham (Fig 6.12A), and Thistley Green). The evidence from Eastcotts consists only of a second century kiln and scatters of pottery (Simco 1984: 103).

The ninth site, Bletsoe, was formerly interpreted as a villa, but the only evidence is a stone column base (now lost), and the presence in the vicinity of a third and fourth century

inhumation cemetery, frequently associated with villas (Esmonde Cleary 2000b: 130). The structure was categorised as AE1 in the Level 2 analysis. The tenth example, Great Barford, consists of a rectilinear enclosure, whose regularity suggests that it might be centred around a substantial building. However, there was no dating evidence or finds. The final site, Willington/Cople, also revealed by cropmarks (Fig 6.28A), is listed in Table 6.6 as a likely larger settlement: there is no evidence of a villa, or indeed any other structure.

None of the BD sites in Table 6.12A can be classed as a villa according to the criteria of this research. Table 6.13 lists villas and high status sites which do comply with these criteria. A few sites shown in aerial photographs also resemble villas structures in their rectilinearity. They are Newnham, mentioned above as one of Dawson's proposed villas, Three Horseshoes Farm, Colmworth (Fig 6.14A), Pavenham, north of High Street (Fig 6.15A), and in MK, Rines Hill, Newton Blossomville (Fig 6.16A). All have produced RB pottery and some evidence of architectural elaboration (Tables 6.10A and 6.11A). Rines Hill, an apparent roundhouse villa, incorporating a circular structure within a simple row-type villa, has yielded at least 219 Roman coins, including two of Vespasian and five of IA date (B Martin, pers.comm.).

Table 6.13 Villas and high status sites

	MK	BD
Villas	Whittlebury	
	Deanshanger	
	Foscott	
	<i>Bancroft</i>	
	<i>Cosgrove</i>	
	<i>Stantonbury</i>	
	<i>Stanton Low</i>	
High status sites	Wakefield Lodge	Tempsford
	Dovecote Farm, Shenley	Newnham
	<i>Holne Chase</i>	Thistley Green, Kempston Moor End
	<i>Blacklands, Gayhurst</i>	<i>Sandy</i>
	<i>Windmill Hill</i>	

The Level 2 and Level 3 data show that no more than seven villas, and nine other high status sites, can currently be identified with confidence. There were no (proven) villas in BD, and only four high status sites: however, cropmarks suggest two possible villas sites in BD, and one in MK. Including the latter, this total of 19 locations with possible villas or high status buildings represents 5.7% out of the 334 sites with definite or possible RB occupation (Table 6.1). Fig 6.13A displays Levels 2 and 3 villas, together with the cropmark sites mentioned above.

6.3.3 Summary

The Level 3 data confirm and extend the results of the Level 2 analysis. While the great majority of sites in the study area were of relatively low status, most of those of higher status architecture were located in MK. This was in spite of the possibly earlier uptake of new architectural styles in BD in the LIA and first century (R). In addition, the Level 3 analysis identified no further definite villa sites in BD.

6.4 Material culture: ceramics

6.4.1 Introduction

The only categories which were occasionally reliably identified in the SMR records are Gallo-Belgic wares, amphorae and mortaria, and there were a few occurrences of soft pink grog fabric. Contexts of these wares are rarely known: fortunately the fact that they reached the study area is sufficient here.

6.4.2 Evidence

Table 6.14A shows Gallo-Belgic ceramics from both Levels 2 and 3 data. The BD examples were widely (if sparsely) found throughout that area, and, unlike in MK, predominantly in small rural sites. Conversely, comparison with Level 2 data (Table 4.20A) shows that samian in first century (R) contexts was more common in the MK area, where it was also widely but sparsely distributed. Samian was occasionally visible in the Level 3 data, but was rarely dated, and therefore not used for this analysis. A possible exception comes from Wyboston (BD), where Arretine as well as Gallo-Belgic fabrics were present in LIA phases (Simco 1973: 19). It therefore seems that BD had at least as much imported ware as MK in the LIA period, but after the conquest samian penetrated MK to a greater extent than BD, possibly due to the proximity of Watling Street with its military and commercial and military traffic.

These limited finds suggest that in the LIA period the region in general was not well-connected with the pottery importing and distributing areas of Hertfordshire and Essex, for example Braughing, where a group of Roman or Gallo-Roman merchants were thought to have traded imported goods including Gallo-Belgic ware (Cunliffe 2004: 8). This has been attributed to conservatism (Dawson 2000c: 122), or, on the other hand, to the barriers presented by the Chiltern escarpment (Marney 1989: 89), and/or the Greensand Ridge. Harlington cemetery, just to the south of the Ridge, and of Flavian to Hadrianic date, produced quantities of Gallo-Belgic wares and early samian, and ceramics from Brockley Hill, in contrast to the Ouse area where very few southern types have been found (Dawson 2001:37).

Nevertheless, early 20th century finds in BD include butt beakers, platters and several pedestal urns, from Hillgrounds (Kempston), Biddenham, and Newnham (Simco 1973: 12). These

suggest further evidence of contact in BD with the Eastern Kingdom. They also constitute further evidence for drinking vessels, the only other example of which comes from the wealthy burial of just post-conquest date at Sharnbrook (BD) (6.6.2). This contained part of a wine strainer, a wine bucket, and imported drinking vessels, and could indicate an interest in wine consumption at the LIA/RB transition in BD.

The Level 3 data, together with information from Marney (1989: 168-69; 130-31) yielded further examples of amphorae and mortaria, shown in Tables 6.15A and 6.16A. As in the Level 2 data, more of both were found in MK; however, it should be noted that the majority of these were derived from Marney (1989), and there was no comparable ceramic source for BD.

6.4.3 Summary

The Level 3 ceramic analysis confirmed, and in a number of cases, extended, that of the Level 2 data. These include the finding of additional early imports in BD, as well as of a few drinking vessels, suggesting that in the LIA there was at least as much, if not more, contact with the Eastern Kingdom than in MK. For the RB period, there were also additional finds of both amphorae and mortaria, primarily in MK.

6.5 Material culture: evidence of literacy

6.5.1 Introduction

Finds relating to literacy are shown in four separate tables, and, with the exception of lighting equipment, in Fig 6.17A: all incorporate the Level 2 and Level 3 data. An additional category, intaglio rings, can also indicate literacy, in association with sealing documents, but is included in 6.7.3, under religious artefacts, for some depicted Roman religious themes. In total, eleven intaglio rings were found in the study area, all in MK.

6.5.2 Evidence

Primary evidence relating to literacy, in the form of writing materials, is shown in Table 6.17A. This indicates that almost all finds in the study area were made in larger or high status sites, and those with ritual associations. The additional, Level 3, data, confirm the fact that the majority of finds were made in the MK area.

Epigraphic inscriptions were found in six sites in BD, and three in MK (Table 6.18A). These were all Level 3 finds, since none was discovered during the course of excavations. There is no evidence of stone inscriptions in the study area. The two inscribed brooches, of approximately mid-first century date, found in BD, are more likely to be an indication of contact with southern groups than of local literacy at this early stage, for, as already noted, some of these inscribed items may not have been made locally. Even if they had been, the person inscribing may not

have been fully literate; for example, the inscriptions on the Castlethorpe bracelets were almost illegible (Cool 1979: 166).

Two collyrium-stamps were found, both in BD. They were used to mark semi-solid eye salves with information such as the name of the eye-doctor involved, or the composition of the ointment. They might have belonged to travelling healers, for about 30 have been found around Britain, almost all in settlements on the major routes (Jackson 1996: 177-180). Harrold, in BD, was perhaps the exception, for it is not known to have been sited on a main road. In addition, five further graffiti were found, making a total of 12 locations with Level 2 and Level 3 evidence; nine of these were in MK (Table 6.19A). Two more examples of lighting equipment were also found (Table 6.20A).

6.5.3 Summary

The Level 3 search found further examples of literacy in MK and BD. However, taken with the finds from excavated sites, this still shows considerably more evidence in MK. The primary evidence – writing equipment, in particular, styli – was far more common in MK. Other items indicating local literacy were also found mainly in the MK area: however, no great degree of literacy was necessarily present. In most cases, the finds were made near roads, or in high status and/or possibly ritual, or industrial, sites. Very few items were found in the small low-status rural sites which predominated in the study area.

6.6 Symbolic behaviour: disposal of the dead

6.6.1 Introduction

Burial evidence in the Level 3 data is less extensive and less detailed than that from the excavated sites. Table 6.21A records burials found in the L3 data only. More interesting burials or those with more information are described in the appendix in more detail; those in Sandy, Kempston and *Magiovinium* are additional to the Level 2 examples.

Burials were recorded at 56 locations, seven including IA or LIA examples: the remainder appear to be of RB date.

6.6.2 The evidence

About half of the total Level 3 burials were associated with occupation sites, within or outside the settlement. Of the remainder, no adjacent settlement is known. A further IA/LIA inhumation was found in a ring ditch, at Wolverton, again suggesting that such locations were a convenient – or else an auspicious – place to bury the dead. The Level 3 results reinforce the variety of locations chosen for burial shown in the Level 2 evidence, and reveal further evidence of group, as well as isolated, burials, throughout the period.

Table 6.22A lists all examples of locations with inhumations of LIA or first century (R) date, and includes four Level 3 burials. The Paulerspury examples (Table 6.21A) have not been included here as the number is unknown, and they may be examples of mass killings or at least of very casual disposal, rather than of normal burial. If the infants are not included, as they too do not represent the normal adult rite, this means that three early inhumations were found in MK, compared to at least 21 in BD. Overall, the evidence suggests that the pre-existing rite of inhumation was much more common in BD (Fig 6.18A). Tables 6.23A and 6.24A extend the evidence for excarnation. This too may have been more common in BD than MK, particularly in the LIA and first century (R), where so far only one possible example has been found. However, in MK the use of excarnated remains in deliberate ritual use is visible in the later RB period.

The Level 3 evidence suggests that there were more locations with burnt and/or damaged goods in BD than in MK (Table 6.25A). If the burials at Tower Hill (Sandy) and Clapham Road (Bedford) were taken into account, this would raise the total in BD to over 60 examples, suggesting that this was a relatively common rite in this area, in both the LIA and RB periods. Once again, it is significant that three out of the four examples found in MK came from Bancroft mausoleum, a high status site which frequently displayed instances of unusual practices. Some of these Level 3 burials, such as the Tower Hill examples, may have been *bustum* burials, but only one *bustum*, at Thornborough Barrow (5.2.7), was found in the Level 2 data. However, *busta* were rare, for example, only one was recorded at the Eastern Cemetery of Roman London, out of 136 cremations (Barber and Bowsher 2000: xiv, 60).

Using definitions given in Tables 3.9 and 3.10, it was possible to identify a few burials in the L3 data which were of higher than average status (Table 6.26A). The three wealthy L3 burials (Hillgrounds in Kempston, Sharnbrook, and Ickwell) were all located in BD, and of LIA/first century (R) date. The bronze sword in the RB cremations at Clapham Road, together with the investment in funerary ritual, is also indicative of a level of prosperity. In addition, the LIA cremation in Ecks Lane South (Table 6.21A), which contained pedestal urns, also suggests a relatively wealthy burial. The overall conclusions are that while there are more BD high status burials in the LIA/first century (R) than in MK, the wealthiest occurred after that period and then only in MK.

LRB infant burials were found in the Level 3 data at Whittlebury and Newnham, amongst and within buildings. The latter is a high status (AE3) site, and the former a villa, by the criteria of this research (6.3.2). At Sandy, infants as well as adult inhumations were found between, rather than within, buildings. This extends the evidence for infant burial in the L2 data. Meanwhile animal remains deposited in burials were only noted at Clapham Road, Tower Hill Sandy and

Kempston Hillgrounds. These were all in BD, but this does not alter the Level 2 conclusion that this practice was widespread throughout the study area.

Early inhumations, and possible excarnations, have already been discussed. The other discrepant burials are a prone inhumation with an amphora from Watling Street, Old Stratford, and a possible decapitation at *Magiovinium* (Smith 1987: 219-220). Another decapitation has recently been excavated at Kempston Box End, an extension of Kempston Church End cemetery, where other examples of the rite were found (5.2.10) (Luke *et al* 2005b: 3-4).

6.6.3 Summary

The Level 3 analysis confirms the patterns shown in analysis of the excavated sites, as far as possible given the lack of contextual evidence. Burial locations varied considerably, and group and isolated burials were equally common. Several aspects again figured more largely in BD than MK in the Level 3, as in the Level 2, data. There were more examples in BD of crouched inhumation and possible excarnation, as well as of relatively wealthy burials, in LIA and ERB contexts. In addition, overall, there were more examples of broken and/or burnt grave goods in BD.

6.7 Symbolic behaviour: ritual activity

6.7.1 Ritual deposits

The limited number of possible ritual deposits retrieved from the SMR data is listed in Table 6.27A and illustrated in Fig 6.19A. Three further examples were found in MK, including one at Whittlebury (MK) in which human skull fragments and a mandible were found in pit deposits, while in BD there were nine more instances, of which three come from Odell, already noted as a site with a great deal of ritual activity, also involving skulls (5.3.1). The example from Castle Mill Airfield, one of the Willington Quarry sites (BD), contained an apparently deliberately defleshed skull (Oetgen and Pixley 2003: 7).

In the area as a whole, ritual deposits of all types were relatively common throughout the period, including animal burials and drilled or damaged goods, suggesting that Fulford's 'pervasive ritual' also applied to this area, in all periods (Fulford 2001). Again, as with burial, there were long-lived local traditions within individual sites, such the practice of animal burial at Wavendon.

There were however regional differences. Ritual deposits were more common in BD in the early period, and in the LRB in MK, mostly in higher status sites, with ritual connections. However, throughout, the BD examples were almost all in small rural sites. Human skulls and deliberately damaged items were almost all found in BD, and most of the MK examples of the latter were found at sites with other interesting ritual, such as Bancroft and Wavendon.

6.7.2 Ritual locations

All the temples and shrines in Table 6.28A were identified by the presence of a religious or ritual structure or enclosure (eg East End Pavenham (Fig 6.20A)), although ritual deposits and votive offerings may also have been present. Keysoe Row East (Fig 6.21A) was identified in the SMR by the presence of a possible structure over a spring on an old water course. Two formal religious structures were identified during the Level 3 analysis, Stollidge Field Tingewick (MK), and a possible shrine to the west of Thornborough temple (Table 6.27A). This is listed elsewhere as an animal burial (Table 5.18A) but it was placed on a platform of clay, which could have been the base of a ritual structure. It was found adjacent to one of the Roman roads near the temple, along which scatters of stone, tile and pottery have been found at intervals, possibly representing other shrines (Lewis 1992: 23).

This supplements the Level 2 data showing that only MK had formal religious sites (apart from Kempston), and that in BD ritual activity was more likely to have taken place in the open air informal sites. Many LIA temples were of this type in their early phases, only later, at the end of the LIA or beginning of the RB period, becoming roofed structures (King and Soffe 1998: 111). This suggests that BD may have adhered in the main to traditional IA ritual practice.

Sites in Table 6.29A were identified in the main by Curteis (2001), due to the large amounts of metal items present, including coins. Some of the MK sites listed produced large numbers of Roman as well as IA coins. These are Evenley (3500 Roman coins), Deanshanger (Briary Wood, near the villa) (202), Old Stratford 'temple' site (1250), Shenley Grange Farm (22) and Potterspury (Redmoor Copse) (179) (Curteis 2001: 211-213).

Shalstone, near Buckingham, is an example of a possible ritual location, resembling the south Leicestershire hoard site (7.6.3). It produced a number of separate deposits, most concentrated within 10 sq m, containing a total of 38 British staters. There were also many Roman coins and other metal objects, and deposits may have been made over a period of time (Curteis 2001: 208). No IA finds other than the coins were made here, unlike at the Leicestershire site, or at Evenley (MK), where large numbers of brooches and other metal items, as well as coins, were found. However, at Evenley deposits were spread over a large area with no specific focus (Curteis 2001: 458).

Two other sites which might have had ritual significance are Stanton Low and Haversham, which face each other across the Ouse. The many sites and finds at Haversham (at least eight separate locations are recorded) indicate a large and possibly wealthy settlement. Over the last century or more, large numbers of coins and other items have been collected here, near buildings which were described as 'trading centres' (Green 1970), presumably due to the large number of coins found in the vicinity. However, this is equally likely to indicate ritual activity. Curteis has also suggested that Stanton Low had a ceremonial or ritual function during the LIA

and RB periods. A large number of metal finds, including the ceremonial tripod mentioned in Table 5.21A, were found beneath a floor in one of the later buildings. 76 Roman coins were also found in the excavation (Curteis 2001: 197-198).

Ritual sites were also associated with market areas, and hence the connection with frequent finds of coins. The other metal items frequently found in such sites are weights. Titchmarsh, in Northamptonshire, thought to have been a LIA market and ritual centre, produced many coins and metal finds, particularly weights (Curteis *et al* 1999: 164-174) (7.6.3). Weights were not examined during the Level 2 analysis, but when their significance was later realised, they were sought in both the Level 2 and 3 data, and the results are shown in Table 6.30A.

The information in Tables 6.30A and 6.31A (Parishes with more than one IA coin) amplifies and confirms that shown in Table 6.29A, and shows many more possible sites of ritual behaviour as well as religious structures in MK than BD. Thus the Level 3 ritual sites in MK are defined largely by the presence of metal objects, mainly found by metal-detecting, together with some nineteenth century finds. Meanwhile, in BD cropmarks – often of large rectangular enclosures, usually without artefactual evidence – play a greater part. This may simply be because more metal-detecting has taken place in MK, while only Bedfordshire has (at the time of writing) been subjected to a systematic aerial photography survey. Alternatively, it could be because religious identity was manifested in a different way.

6.7.3 Ritual or religious items

The SMRs yielded many more examples of explicit ritual or religious symbols, as well as the votive and metal items discussed above, than did the excavation reports, for most were the results of widespread metal detector work. However, the majority of the items listed here cannot be closely dated, unlike those in the Level 2 data. Tables 6.32A and 6.33A record items with ritual or religious significance. These are also displayed in Fig 6.22A.

No analysis has been undertaken here of the style of art employed. Some items appear to be in classical style, for example, the leaf (or feather) shaped plaques from Old Stratford were made in a naturalistic classical style, perhaps by immigrant craftsmen, while others, such as the Mercury carving from Emberton Well, have been described as ‘obviously native British’ (Toynbee 1964: 156, 328).

Of the classical pantheon, further indications of Mercury worship included two instances of tortoises, connected with Mercury’s invention of the lyre using tortoise shell (Green 1994: 321), and the Emberton sculpture, with his other attributes: the *caduceus*, moneybag, and hornlike wings on the cap (Toynbee 1964: 156). The silver plaques from the Old Stratford hoard included, as well as two dedications to Mars, one which apparently read ‘Deo Iovi et Volca(no)’, suggesting that Jupiter and Vulcan were worshipped as one deity (RIB 215). A

further two finds of wheel symbols might be related to Taranis worship (hence the connection with Jupiter), as at Wavendon (5.4.2). Part of a statue found in Biddenham well (Table 6.27A) has been tentatively identified as Bacchus (Huskinson 1994: 1). In addition, an intaglio of Diana was found at Haversham. The only evidence of eastern cults was a cosmetic implement bearing the Christian *ChiRho* symbol from the fourth century cemetery at Sandy cemetery (Dawson 1991: 17), and there was one further example of a minor deity, an intaglio depicting Bonus Eventus, the ‘male personification of rustic prosperity’ (Henig 1987: 55-7).

Domestic and personal religion is suggested by the small portable altars from Whittlebury and Kempston, and also by intaglio rings engraved with images of deities, which would have offered personal protection to the wearer (Henig 2004: 227). A number of other artefacts indicate Roman influence of a ritual, religious or superstitious nature. For example, the phallus was a Greek and Roman symbol of good luck and fertility (Shipley *et al* 2006: 672-3). Snake jewellery was ‘essentially Roman’ (Henig and Booth 2000: 134), and its religious associations might have been with Aesclepius, with Mercury whose *caduceus* is often shown snake-entwined, or even with oriental mystery cults such as that of Sabazius or Mithras, for snakes are symbolic of rebirth and eternity (Cool 2000: 29-40). It is evident that all types of religious symbols were far more common in MK, and this applies particularly to votive weapons. Snake imagery and intaglio rings have not been recorded for BD.

6.7.4 Summary

The Level 3 analysis again confirms that of Level 2, and also extends it to view topics not seen in the excavated evidence. Although scarcely visible in the Level 3 data, evidence of ritual activity is found throughout the study area in the L2 data, and it is more obvious in the BD area in the earlier periods, and in MK in the LRB period. The reverse is the case in the Level 3 data, where less evidence is available for ritual behaviour than religious locations and activity: however, this is due to biases resulting from excavation as opposed to random finds or metal-detecting.

Overall, few formal ritual or religious locations were identified in the study area, suggesting that worship may often have been conducted either in the domestic sphere, or in informal outdoor locations, not in ‘constructed sacred space’ (Smith 2001). All early examples come from the BD area, while all more formal and later shrines or temples were found in MK, except for that at Kempston. The two locations where ritual activity appears to have taken place long-term, Roxton and Wavendon, produced no evidence for a constructed cult focus. However, while there are possible shrines in early BD, defined by structures or enclosures, it is predominantly in MK that ritual locations defined by coins, metal items and weights are visible. While it is true

that this might be partly attributable to recent metal detecting, a large number of these finds were found in hoards or random finds before the advent of metal detectors.

A wide range of religious symbols was found throughout the study area. Overall, as with metal finds in general, there were far fewer in BD than MK. Most items which might suggest more formal religious practice also came from MK, including anthropomorphic representations of deities, such as the (possible) figurine of Isis, and representations of Mercury. Examples of Roman symbolism were also more prevalent in MK. The prime examples are snake jewellery and intaglio rings, the latter constituting a statement of identity as well as possibly indicating literacy (Mattingly 2006: 212) (2.7.5). They were both absent in BD.

Overall, conclusions are that while both formal religion, in Roman style, and deposition of votives as an expression of beliefs, were much more frequent in MK, evidence of purely ritual behaviour, unassociated with devotion to supernatural beings, was more common in BD.

6.8 Past identities

6.8.1 Introduction

Two categories of information have been used as indications of significance of the past to LIA and RB communities. They are the interaction with prehistoric sites, based on cropmark information, and curated objects, observed solely in excavated sites. Both topics are included under symbolic behaviour because the deliberate retention or reuse of objects from the past may indicate links which communities wished to maintain, for whatever reason.

6.8.2 Interaction with prehistoric sites

In the absence of extant features on the ground, cropmarks can provide the most reliable evidence for prehistoric landscapes, and can reveal how later communities interacted with earlier ceremonial sites. Aerial photographs have revealed instances of disregard of earlier features, possibly because they were no longer visible, for example, at Cardington, where a causewayed camp was ploughed over. However, some cropmarks suggest that later communities respected or even reused earlier monuments or landscapes with past symbolic significance (Meade 2004: 81-82). There are ceremonial sites close to the LIA and RB settlements in the Biddenham Loop (Fig 6.23A), and an extensive palimpsest of cropmarks forming a ceremonial complex of prehistoric sites at Willington (Fig 6.24A) (Malim 2000: Fig 8.13). The latter includes the three shrines at Octagon Farm shown in Table 6.28A. As already mentioned (5.2.3), several burials have been found in both MK and BD in association with ring ditches. However, while there are more possible examples of RB reuse in BD, this may be simply because the wider valley floor in the middle reaches of the Ouse permitted more activity.

6.8.3 Curation

Table 6.34A lists all observed instances of artefact curation, which were visible only in Level 2 sites, as Level 3 data were not sufficiently accurately dated to distinguish this. Most, but not all, were related to ceramics. As also shown in Table 4.18A, IA fabrics were found in several BD sites, even into the fourth century. At East Stagsden, vessels in the infant inhumation consisted of 40% IA fabric, and in this case, whereas contemporary phases contained all, or large proportions of, LIA fabric, perhaps valued heirlooms may have been used in burial.

It has already been noted (Table 4.21A) that samian was present at fourth century sites in the study area, and at some third century sites which might have dated to late in that century. This suggests that these vessels had been curated, that is, early vessels were found in later deposits. Samian vessels were often mended with lead and frequently bear graffiti, denoting individual ownership and the fact that they were valued (Table 6.19A, Bancroft mausoleum and Stanton Low). The mortaria, samian and patera shown in Table 6.34A might have been curated simply for functional reasons. Finds of first century brooches, found in third century phases at Kempston, have been interpreted as heirlooms and attributed to conservatism (Dawson 2004: 65). However, the retention of EIA and IA vessels into the LIA and later RB period, together with the use of the IA coin in a burial, all in BD, are suggestions of some kind of significance being attached to objects from the past.

Curteis noted that prehistoric stone implements were found in 19 (56 percent) of deposits of ‘casually found’ IA coins, and in IA and RB religious sites, possibly having been collected for use as votives (Curteis 2005: 210; 2001: 213). Flint tools, of Bronze Age, neolithic and even mesolithic date, appear to have been deposited at Hayling Island temple (King and Soffe 1998: 4). The Senuna ‘temple hoard’ near Baldock was accompanied by fragments of 30 Bronze Age bronze tools redeposited in first and second century (Fitzpatrick 2006: 412-3), and in the study area a fragmentary Bronze Age palstave was found in a votive deposit at Kempston (Dawson 2004: 387). It has been suggested that these were considered suitable offerings to the gods because of their antiquity (Eckardt and Williams 2003: 142). Yet, of course, their true antiquity could not have been known.

6.8.4 Summary

There are several examples of interaction with prehistoric sites in the study area but most are visible in BD rather than MK, due no doubt largely to topography. However, although curated vessels were used in both BD and MK, it is only in BD that ancient items appear to have been curated for symbolic rather than practical purposes, possibly indicating that communities there had more respect for their past.

6.9 The wider landscape: IA coins

6.9.1 Introduction

Iron Age coins are employed here mainly to show contacts across the landscape. As the sources used have mainly listed coins according to parish, the precise location of finds is not certain in every case. However, Table 6.31A shows locations where more than one coin has been found. Table 6.35A and Figs 6.25A to 6.27A show the distribution of coin types in the study area.

6.9.2 The evidence

The distribution of IA coins is predominantly to the south of the river Ouse, but also clustered along the river and along Watling Street. IA coins found along RB routes are likely to have been deposited in the RB period, unless there were LIA precedents, and later issues of Cunobelin were in use possibly up to the end of the first century AD (C Haselgrove, pers.comm.). In fact, some of these issues were possibly minted post-conquest (Haselgrove 2006: 14). It is particularly noticeable that no IA coins have been found in the area to the north-east of Bedford: although few excavations have taken place in this area, some random finds might have been expected.

Assuming that the 'local' coinage was that of the south-east group or Eastern Kingdom (Mattingly 2006: 68), very few 'foreign' coins were found in the study area in general. Furthermore, none was found in the BD area, or in fact to the east of Rines Hill, which lies in the north east of the MK case study area. Apart from isolated finds of coins from the north-eastern, southern and East Anglian groups (a total of five coins), the most common 'foreign' coins are those of the western group, the majority of which were found at Evenley. Curteis noted that these coins were more common in south-west Northamptonshire, which may have been on the borders of the western coin-using area (Curteis 1996: 24).

The chronological pattern of IA coin distributions is also significant. More Gallo-Belgic coins have been discovered in BD than in MK (10:4). Furthermore, in MK only three sites yielded Gallo-Belgic coins, and of these, at least two, from Little Horwood, were probably part of a RB hoard. In contrast, in the BD area, the coins are distributed more widely, in six different locations, suggesting that contact, direct or indirect, with the continent, was more widespread in BD at this early stage.

However, the next group of coins, British, were found in larger numbers in MK than in BD, and more widely distributed. A large proportion were in proposed ritual or market sites, or part of the Little Horwood hoard. This trend intensified in the Groups 3 and 4 coins, now with more than twice as many coins being found in MK than in BD. At least six sites were now on or adjacent to Watling Street, perhaps denoting RB, rather than contemporary, deposition. The larger number of later IA coins in MK could have been due to more political control from the

issuing groups or possibly simply indicate where the latter had economic influence (Van Arsdell and de Jersey 1994: 24). However, it is now thought that IA coins, especially earlier ones, were used to articulate social relationships, rather than for trade (Hill 2007: 25), as discussed further in 8.5.2.

6.9.3 Summary

The IA coin evidence suggests that BD had rather more contact, direct or indirect, with the Gallo-Belgic world in the earlier LIA period. The position appears to have begun to reverse afterwards, when more coins – now British – were in circulation, particularly in MK. This trend continued so that south-east coins were found much more widely in MK than BD. Few ‘foreign’ coins reached the study area, and none were found in BD. There were relatively high numbers of coins of the western group at Evenley, suggesting that the west of the study area may have bordered on that area. Overall, however, the study area appears to have been firmly in the south-east coin using area.

More than twice as many IA coins have been found in the MK area as in BD, suggesting either less contact with coin-producing groups, that BD was a less prosperous area, or that wealth was manifested in ways other than coinage. The latter is perhaps most likely, for BD appears to have been at least as affluent in the LIA as MK, if not more so.

6.10 The wider landscape: communications

In the Iron Age, a trackway between King’s Sutton, Rainsborough Hillfort, Evenley, Westbury, Thornborough, Whaddon and *Magiovinium* may have existed (Kidd in prep: 15). A ford dating from that period has been found at Thornborough (Johnson 1975: 31). In BD, the road between Baldock and Sandy – and beyond – is known to have existed in the LIA (7.8.2).

For the RB period, The Viatores proposed a network of routes across the south-east Midlands (Viatores 1964: 356-357). Simco examined the Viatores routes in the Bedfordshire area and discarded as unfounded most in the BD area, exceptions being a short section of possible road to the north-east of Bedford (Route 173d), and the Baldock-Sandy-*Durovigutum* road. Only one east-west road (Route 224), between Bedford and Sandy, was identified by the Viatores. This is visible as a double-ditched trackway running up to the Cople/Willington cropmark (Fig 6.28A), and continuing beyond it. A track on a similar alignment can be traced at Cardington to the west, and the River Ivel in the east. However, because the road appears to respect the settlement at Willington, and no evidence of metalling has been found, Simco suggested that this road, if such it was, was not provided by the authorities but perhaps by a local leader (Simco 1984: 65-69).

A recent excavation at Bolnhurst near St Neots, in the very north of BD, has uncovered a section of road thought to be part of Viatores Route 231 (Poppy *et al* 2006: 192). This runs only from Cambridge to Bolnhurst, and even the Viatores suggested no western extension (Viatores 1964: 267). Otherwise, land communication in BD appears to have been with the north and south-east, rather than the west. Meanwhile, Watling Street, the Alchester to *Lactodurum* road (Viatores 160), and several roads excavated at Thornborough, of later first century date (Johnson 1975: 25-27), are known in MK. The *Magiovinium* to Ircchester route via Ashfurlong, Olney (Route 174/175) was also considered plausible, and the cropmarks support this (Zeepvat 1987a: 12) (Fig 6.29A). In 2005 a section of metalling was excavated at Aspreys, Olney, possibly confirming this (I Lisboa, pers.comm.). Many RB sites are known in the borderland area between MK and BD, in the vicinity of Newport Pagnell and Olney. If this route did exist, that would perhaps account for the development of these sites. In the south, the roads from Fleet Marston to Thornborough (Route 162), Fenny Stratford to Thornborough (Route 166), and Akeman Street (*Verulamium* to Alchester) (Zeepvat and Radford in prep), will have impinged upon MK to some extent. Of local roads, at least one was constructed at Stanton Low, but its size and destination are unknown (Woodfield 1989: 166), and at Bancroft villa part of a road was excavated, possibly linking it to Watling Street (Zeepvat 1991: 57).

Water transport is likely to have been used from at least the LIA onwards: a possible wharf of that period was found on the Ouzel at Saffron Gardens, near *Magiovinium* (Zeepvat 1987a: 8). RB wharves have been proposed at Stanton Low (Woodfield 1989: 150), and at Hill Farm, Haversham, on the opposite side of the Ouse. There may have been a quay at Thornborough on the Twin, and at nearby Thornton, on the Ouse (Zeepvat 1987a: 12). Further downstream, at the north-eastern limit of the study area, a possible RB quay was found at Little Paxton (Jones 2000: 142-143). While the middle and lower reaches of the Ouse, Ivel and Ouzel would have been navigable for large boats, the Twin and upper reaches of the other rivers would have been too narrow or shallow. However, it has been suggested that in such circumstances log boats could have been used instead (Bryant 2007: 77).

There is no evidence of any bridge apart from at Stanton Low (Woodfield 1989: 151); however, a ford has been suggested at Kempston, connecting it with the Biddenham Loop (Viatores 1964: 271-2). The Viatores proposed a ford and small building at Caldecote Mill on the River Ouzel, in Newport Pagnell, on their Route 175 (Viatores 1964: 334). Fords may also have existed on the Ouse at Olney, to reach Ashfurlong (Green 1970: 55), and at Thornborough, as already noted. There is likely to have been either a bridge, or a ford, between Harrold and Carlton (8.2.2) (Fig 6.30A).

Thus, while the MK area was crossed by the major Roman highway, Watling Street, and was also served by several other routes of varying importance, BD was less favoured. Although the

Ouse, Ouzel and Ivel are likely to have been navigable, land routes would have been quicker than these meandering rivers. Again, even the Viatores suggested no direct east-west link between Watling Street and BD, and, of proven routes, the Sandy road is the only north-south one. As already noted (2.6.4), more mobility means greater cultural change, and this may have partially accounted for differences in MK and BD.

6.11 The wider landscape: ceramic trading patterns

6.11.1 Introduction

Two particular types of ceramics were recorded in the Level 2 data, in order to establish whether their distribution might indicate any regional grouping. These were LIA grog-tempered vessels (4.5.2), and its successor, soft pink grog ware (3.10.2).

During the course of this research, it became obvious that analysis of the distribution of other types of ceramic data would be fruitful as an indication of trading and/or cultural links. Therefore the L2 data were also examined for information on *Verulamium* ware, and Oxfordshire and Nene Valley colour-coats: the L3 data was not sufficiently detailed to use here.

6.11.2 Soft pink grog ware

Soft pink grog ware was in use from the late second century onwards, but mainly the third and fourth centuries. Figure 6.31A shows the distribution as indicated by Levels 2 and 3 analysis. The research confirms the distribution seen by Taylor, who saw a core area around Stowe, *Magiovinium*, and *Lactodurum*, where the fabric was particularly common (2004: 63-64). However, it has been noted that in *Magiovinium* itself, there was very little of the fabric (Hunn *et al* 1997: 24). There was a broader zone surrounding the core, but focussing mainly on areas to the west and north of *Lactodurum*, where all but the rarer forms of soft pink grog were still very common. Bearing in mind the recent find of a kiln at Stowe (Taylor 2004: 63), this pattern suggests distribution via the Alchester/ *Lactodurum* road, which ran close to Stowe, as well as Watling Street. A third, outer, zone showed a thinner distribution. Little of the fabric was found in the east and south east generally (Taylor 2004: 63).

Further confirmation of the absence of soft pink grog ware in the areas to the east of MK came from the fact that none was identified in surface collections from Northfield Farm, Great Barford, or Willington/Cople (N Cooper, pers.comm.). However, a small amount was found in the pottery from the 1980s excavation at Sandy, which is unpublished; it is not surprising that such a large assemblage should contain a few sherds (A Slowikowsky, pers.comm.).

In addition to extending knowledge of the distribution of soft pink grog ware, this analysis provided further evidence of the paucity of goods received by BD from the Watling Street/MK area. Yet, from the LIA onwards, there had been trade in the opposite direction, in the form of

calcite-gritted (shelly) wares, from settlements such as Harrold lying the north-east of the *Magiovinium* area of MK (Neal 1987: 94-97). In Harrold itself this trade continued, and intensified, in the LRB (Marney 1989: 59-60). Possibly in BD local wares were able to supply the needs met in MK by soft pink grog.

6.11.3 Mortaria

Table 6.36A shows the proportions of different mortaria types reaching Milton Keynes (as opposed to MK) sites, based largely on Marney (1989: Table 6). Few *Verulamium* mortaria were found anywhere in the study area, although the kilns at Brockley Hill and Radlett were in operation from about 50 AD onwards (Tyers 2006: 3). *Verulamium* mortaria were the earliest found in the MK area, but they were not found anywhere in large amounts, in spite of its proximity via Watling Street (Marney 1989: 131). It was also noted at Wavendon Gate that *Verulamium* mortaria were completely absent, although the settlement was flourishing during the first and second centuries (Williams *et al* 1996: 195). The trade in shelly ware already established in the LIA may partly account for the fact that few ceramics from the south – *Verulamium* and elsewhere in Hertfordshire – reached the study area. It is, of course, possible that since *Verulamium* mortaria were some of the earliest produced in Britain, the lack of these might be partly due to the slow uptake of Roman food preparation methods in the study area in general. The scarcity of *Verulamium* mortaria in the study area is mirrored in the small amounts of other *Verulamium* fabrics – white and pink wares – as shown in Table 6.37A.

Once the Oxford kilns started production in around AD 100, Oxford dominated the market in mortaria in the Milton Keynes area, which received relatively small amounts of Lower Nene mortaria (Marney 1989: 131; N Cooper, pers.comm.). Table 6.36A also reveals that Mancetter wares were relatively rare, and they seem to have offered little competition to the contemporary Oxfordshire mortaria.

6.11.4 Oxfordshire and Nene Valley wares

It has been noted that Nene Valley colour coats were less numerous than Oxford colour coats in Milton Keynes (pers. comm. Nick Cooper). A brief analysis of colour-coated wares was therefore undertaken. The Lower Nene potteries were producing colour-coated products from the mid-second century, and the Oxfordshire area from around mid-third century (Marney 1989: 116, 125). Quantified groups were only available for MK (Marney 1989: 196-197). The fabric numbers are as shown in the fabric chart (Table 3.7A).

Table 6.38A confirms Cooper's view that from the later third century Oxford colour coats were more common in MK sites than Nene Valley colour coats. However, the reverse was the case in BD (Table 6.39A). While transport between BD and the Lower Nene may have been easier, via the Sandy to *Durovigutum* Road, it is surprising that more Nene Valley colour coats did not

reach MK via the Nene and Watling Street. Meanwhile, it has been pointed out that the proportions of Oxford colour coats in MK were relatively high considering the distance of 80km between Oxford and MK (Marney 1989: 126).

6.11.5 Summary

This research indicates definite pottery circulation patterns throughout the LIA to LRB period. Throughout the LIA and RB calcite-gritted wares from areas to the north east of MK, especially Harrold, were traded with the MK area, yet there was no reciprocal trade in soft pink grog ware, found only in MK and area to the west. This established market connection may also have discouraged trade in ceramics from *Verulamium* and elsewhere in Hertfordshire in both MK and BD, especially in the ERB.

From the beginning of the second century, it seems that the Oxford industries, mortaria at this stage, dominated the MK area, in spite of the relative distance. Fewer mortaria reached MK from either the south (Hertfordshire) or the north (Mancetter/Hartshill) than might be expected, considering its proximity to Watling Street. In the later period there was a similar divergence in the supply of finewares. Oxford colour coats were supplied in larger quantities to MK, while BD received them mainly from Nene Valley. Yet Oxford was further from most parts of MK than was the pottery producing area of the Lower Nene.

This analysis of pottery distribution has therefore shown a divergence in trading patterns, suggesting that Watling Street may have had relatively little influence, and that from the second century onwards trade was oriented between MK and the west, but in BD with the north and the east. The lack of east-west roads in the study area, discussed above, together with the ceramic trading evidence, confirms a divide between east and west, in which the latter was orientated towards Oxfordshire. This pattern has also been observed to the north of the study area in Northamptonshire (Taylor *et al* 2002a: 16), and will be discussed further in 8.6.2.

6.12 The wider landscape: iron production

6.12.1 Introduction

The economic, social and political aspects of iron production were particularly relevant to this research, although the process may also have had some ritual significance. The term ‘iron production’ can be employed to include all stages from mining the ore to smithing and producing an implement. There were three main iron production areas in Roman Britain, the Weald, the Forest of Dean, and the East Midlands. Judging by the number of known sites in each (81, 95 and 228 respectively), the latter was by far the most extensive (Schrüfer-Kolb 2004: 110, 1, 59). Within the East Midlands area itself there were four major concentrations of iron production, including north-east Northamptonshire, and south Northamptonshire/north

Bedfordshire, all associated with the Jurassic Ridge. The Northamptonshire sites derived ores from iron-bearing deposits of Northampton Sand Ironstone. While the north-east sites (for example, Ashton and Laxton) are relatively well-documented, this does not apply to those in the study area (Schrüfer-Kolb 2000: 58; 2004: 1).

Iron production in the East Midlands took place from the early first century, and, from the conquest onwards, it began to flourish, possibly due to demand from the Roman army, and exploitation was facilitated by local LIA expertise. Production took place in rural settlements alongside other activities, such as farming, pottery and bronze working, and sites varied considerably in scale (Schrüfer-Kolb 2004: 53-54, 48, 103).

6.12.2 Evidence

All finds of iron slag observed in the Level 3 sources were noted, and are plotted in Figure 6.32A, which shows that most sites fall in the north-west of the BD case study area. However a few are found in the far north-east of the adjacent MK area, for example, at Lavendon and Warrington. In most cases there is no definite indication of settlement, although occupation is suggested at some by the presence of pottery, building stone or tiles. None of these sites has been excavated. Many may have been temporary smelting sites, but Knotting, where building material and ‘*tesserae*’ were found, and Carlton, close to a site classified as of AE2 status (6.3.2), were perhaps the exception. There may therefore have been some permanent occupation, even of relatively high status, in this part of the iron-production area.

Although most excavated sites have produced a few pieces of slag, they are likely only to represent small scale forging. Smelting on a large scale is likely to have taken place nearer the source of the ore (Mynard 1987: 173). The LIA/RB site at Piddington, just outside the study area to the north, has yielded evidence of relatively large scale iron smelting or smithing, but this is possibly because it lay near known sources of ore, at Wootton and Hunsbury Hill (Schrüfer-Kolb 2005: 42). Evidence of iron working, in the form of slag and scrap iron, as opposed to iron smelting, is also found in a few places in MK, including Caldecotte (Zeepvat *et al* 1994: 52-53), *Magiovinium* (Neal 1987: 14-15), and Monkston (Davis and Bull 2004: 68). At Biddlesden Road Bridge further west there is definite evidence of LIA smelting, which is relatively rare (Mudd 2002: 53-4). However, at Carlton iron production is known to have taken place from some time in the first century (Schrüfer-Kolb 2000: 59).

6.12.3 Summary

Most of the MK sites mentioned above, where ironworking was taking place, were probably part of ‘household industry’ at permanent settlement sites, a term used rather than ‘cottage industry’ to denote the considerable economic importance of iron production in the region as a whole (Schrüfer-Kolb 2004: 102). However, the sites located in the north of the study area may

have been predominantly temporary iron-smelting sites, judging by the lack of occupation evidence, although this can only be proven by excavation. The organisation and control of iron production is further discussed in 7.9.3.

6.13 Conclusions so far

6.13.1 Introduction

Chapters 4 to 6 have analysed a wide array of data and arrived at some significant conclusions which are summarised below. Using this information, the first two questions posed in Chapter 1 are then addressed.

6.13.2 The Middle and Upper Ouse Valley in transition

The trajectory of change can now be summarised as follows. In the LIA, BD was more closely integrated in the adoption of the new material culture influenced by Rome and by communities in the Eastern Kingdom. This included imported ceramics, drinking and eating assemblages, rectangular buildings, and, in the later first century AD, a few examples of architectural elaboration, in the form of ceramic building material. BD was also possibly more prosperous than MK, as demonstrated by some relatively high status burials, which appear to be a continuation of those occurring higher up the Ivel Valley, to the south. In addition, BD received more Gallo-Belgic coins, a possible indication of developing relationships with the Eastern Kingdom. In sum, BD communities were prepared, or able, to express their identities by adopting new styles of material culture, structures, and, occasionally, were able to invest in wealthy burials.

MK was relatively conservative, with respect to the retention of IA fabrics and vessels, basic cooking assemblages, and the use in a few places of traditional mass construction methods. Nevertheless, in the LIA period there were several sites of apparent high status in MK, perhaps Stanton Low and certainly Bancroft, and there are no such locations visible in BD in the LIA or the RB period, although the wealthy burial at Sharnbrook was presumably associated with a site nearby. Then, from the end of the first century onwards, MK rapidly caught up in material matters, and adopted the two other markers of Roman lifestyle, literacy and formal religion.

Meanwhile, BD remained at moderate status in material terms: there was little evidence for substantial stone buildings, architectural elaboration, or even much portable material culture, in the form of metal items deposited in likely ritual context. In addition, there were very few higher status burials (Table 6.26A). BD was also less involved in matters requiring literacy, or in Roman style religion, either in the form of religious structures, anthropomorphic images, or other artefacts. Instead, from the cropmark evidence at least, it seems possible that religion was being practised in less formal settings, such as ritual enclosures, possibly in continuation of

earlier traditions. BD also retained other customs, such as ritual deposition and the crouched inhumation, to a much greater extent. All in all, BD was unable, or did not chose, to engage with the Roman way of life to the same extent as did MK.

6.13.3 Answering the questions

How did LIA communities express their identities, and were there perceptible differences within the study area?

This research has shown that the spheres of life revealing identity in the LIA period were, in terms of material culture, the form and fabric of both architecture and ceramics, and the use of coinage and of imported ceramics. Identity was expressed in burial via different rites, for example, retention of the indigenous rite of inhumation as opposed to the uptake of cremation, and the grave goods and furnishings associated with the latter – differences which also continued into the ERB period. Other long-standing IA practices which were maintained were excarnation and other methods of disposal of the dead, which took place to an extent unknown, throughout the study period and area, and the considerable evidence of ritual deposits, animal burials, and other ‘unusual’ practices, such as the use of the human skull. These choices all reveal the extent to which local traditions were retained, or influenced by contact with the south, and indirectly, with the Roman world. There were many intra-site and inter-site differences even within the case study areas of MK and BD, suggesting sites of different social, cultural and religious identity, as well variable access to goods and ideas.

How, and in which spheres of life, did identity and social change vary after the Roman conquest?

In the LIA period, settlement, mostly small farmsteads, had been distributed widely around the landscape, focussing on rivers. By the early second century there was an increase in the number of occupation sites in MK, and these were predominantly located in the vicinity of Watling Street. There was also a burgeoning of relatively wealthy sites, as revealed mainly by architecture and wealthy burial, and the development of a more pronounced settlement hierarchy in MK. There was also much more evidence in MK of activities which could be construed as commercial, in the form of Roman coins, weights, and possible account-keeping, indicated by writing equipment.

In contrast, in BD, identity changes, particularly those shown in new architectural types and in evidence of literacy, were all slower, less widespread and less obvious than in MK. BD produced fewer wealthy burials, retained crouched inhumation longer, and adopted extended burial later. In terms of ritual and religious behaviour, although the study area as a whole retained many traditional customs, these were more persistent in BD. Furthermore, in BD there was less evidence of Roman religion in the form of structures, representation of deities, and

other artefacts, but also less evidence of ritual locations revealed by the deposition of coins and metal items.

Yet, in the RB as well as in the LIA period, basic ritual traditions and burial were more deeply entrenched. Even in BD, which adopted the new material culture at an earlier stage, the indigenous tradition of crouched inhumation was retained alongside the new rite of cremation. Again, these generalisations should not obscure the considerable differences within and between sites, such as the contemporary presence of new and traditional architecture, of different burial rites, or of burials of varying status.

6.13.4 Conclusions

While some of the evidence in Chapters 4 and 5 is slight, with the addition of the Level 3 data a more convincing picture has emerged. The main patterns are the relatively early development and contact with the south-east in BD, in comparison with MK, and the paradox of the widespread adoption of new material culture and activities in MK in the ERB period, in contrast to the relative stasis in BD.

The themes identified above will now be examined in the Level 4 data, in the course of regional comparisons in Chapter 7.

Chapter 7 Regional comparisons

7.1 Introduction

The Level 2 and Level 3 analysis in the preceding chapters revealed considerable internal differences within the study area. This chapter covers the Level 4 analysis, which extends the scope of the study more widely, in order to discover whether similar patterns, and the same degree of diversity, occurred in neighbouring areas. These results will then be used to address Question 3 (1.8) following which some explanatory models will be explored.

The main themes which emerged in Chapters 4 to 6 form a starting point for this analysis (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1 Themes for comparison

Material culture		Symbolic behaviour	
Topic	Aspect	Topic	Aspect
Structures	Change of building form	Disposal of the dead	Absence of the dead
	Change of building material		Sequence of rite
	Villas and high status buildings		Other burial rites
Ceramics	LIA types	Ritual deposition	High status burial
	GB imports		Ritual deposits of all types
	Early samian		Locations: temples or shrines
	Vessel types		Locations: defined by votives
Literacy	All evidence of literacy		Religious artefacts

A comprehensive survey for the comparative areas was not possible, and examples are used to show the range and diversity of the information involved.

The comparative areas are defined as follows (3.11.2) (Fig 3.3A):

- 1 The North (most of Northamptonshire, up to the Welland valley)
- 2 The West (the Cherwell area of east Oxfordshire, and south-west Northamptonshire)
- 3 The East (up to the western Fen edge, *Durobrivae* to *Duroliponte*)
- 4 The South (from the Greensand Ridge south to the Chilterns).

Note that throughout, North, South, East and West refers to the comparative areas, while north, south, east and west refer to the points of the compass only.

7.2 The architectural evidence

7.2.1 Introduction

The main internal differences seen in the study area are the absence of roundhouses in a few sites in MK in the LIA, the presence of a few early rectangular buildings, predominantly in BD, in the LIA and first century (R), and the paucity of stone buildings, or any high status structures, throughout the RB period in BD. The presence of later circular stone buildings in MK is also of interest.

7.2.2 The early period

As in the study area, the main structural evidence is for roundhouses in the North, South and East in the LIA period (Willis 2006: 111; Bryant 1997: 28). Yet the absence of LIA structures in some sites where occupation is known to have taken place has been attested in the North and the West, as in MK. At Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire, a first century settlement of LIA/ERB date produced no evidence of structure, although there was a great deal of domestic activity (Mudd 2004: 91). Likewise, in the West, after the MIA period, and into the early RB period, drainage gullies denoting circular roundhouses were very rare in Oxfordshire as a whole, Bicester Fields Farm being a rare exception (Henig and Booth 2000: 21).

Rectangular buildings of LIA date were not observed in the East, nor the West, although one example was found at Piddington, in the North, dating to just before the conquest (Friendship-Taylor 2003: 155). However, in the South, rectangular buildings were relatively common, and towards the end of the LIA began to appear in Hertfordshire and Essex (Bryant 1997: 28). For example, there were nine such buildings at Skeleton Green, Braughing (where no roundhouses were identified), occupied between about 15 BC and AD 45 (Niblett 2001: 33).

No rectangular buildings of later first century date were noted for the North or the East: however there were examples at London Road, Bicester, dating to AD 50-120 (Esmonde Cleary 1995: 355). In the South, where such structures had been present since the LIA, there are further examples at Baldock, where, between AD 50-70, square and circular structures existed alongside each other (Stead and Rigby 1986: 85). In the study area, three rectangular buildings of LIA date were found in BD, but at this stage they were absent in MK (Table 6.7A). In the first century (R), there were more examples in BD, and by then they were also present in MK (Table 4.8A).

7.2.3 The second century onwards

By the beginning of the second century, a dichotomy had developed in the study area, whereby only MK produced evidence of a dramatic increase in stone buildings. In fact throughout the RB period very few stone buildings at all were found in BD. In spite of its early adoption of

rectangular buildings, and a few examples of architectural elaboration in the later first century, BD did not fully adopt the new building traditions. In the South, otherwise advanced in architectural matters, most buildings in the third century were still constructed of timber and clay, though some now had tiled roofs, probably due to the lack of good local stone (Burleigh in prep (a): 5). Yet building stone was plentiful in BD (4.4.4), and this suggests some continuities with the East, where, around Cambridge, there was a lack of structural evidence and of architectural elaboration (Oxford Archaeology 2005: 11).

A regional divide has also been identified in the North. In north-east Northamptonshire, roundhouses were replaced from the second century onwards by aisled buildings and villas, and this pattern also extended to the northern part of the East (north Cambridgeshire). Meanwhile, in the south and centre of Northamptonshire, as at Stanwick, timber buildings followed by stone roundhouses, as well as row-type villas, were present (Taylor and Flitcroft 2004: 65).

In spite of these overall patterns, all areas showed a variety of building shape. For example, at Clay Lane, Earls Barton, around AD 100 a large stone-founded rectangular building was constructed, accompanied by new roundhouses (Windell 1983: 39). Stone roundhouses were also much in evidence in the North, as in MK, particularly in the later period (4.4.5). At Stanwick 30 stone roundhouses were constructed from around 100 AD to the fourth century, and in at least one case a rectangular structure was replaced by a circular one (Keevill and Booth 1997: 33, 38). Stone roundhouses were also relatively common in the West, and were found in the extramural settlement at Alchester, and at Islip villa (Henig and Booth 2000: 95; Booth in prep: 10).

7.2.4 Villas and high status buildings

In this research villas are buildings with the highest level of architectural elaboration (AE3), together with villa layout, but sources for the comparative areas employed different definitions, so meaningful comparison was difficult, and interpretations made by the excavators are employed here. In the North, 47 villas, ranging from substantial and well-appointed establishments to simple row-type buildings, have been identified in Northamptonshire, Piddington and Cotterstock being the grandest. Redlands Farm, Stanwick was less lavish but larger (Taylor and Flitcroft 2004: Fig 51, 65-67). Examples include Whitehall villa, which comprised two substantial stone roundhouses, succeeded by a proto-villa, a LRB two-storey winged corridor villa, and a bathhouse (<http://www.whitehallvilla.co.uk/>). At Bozeat/Easton Maudit, the villa incorporated, rather than succeeded, the roundhouses at either end of the main villa range, possibly resembling the Rines Hill example which lies only about 8 km to the south (Neal and Cosh 2002: 230) (6.3.2).

In the West, around a dozen villas have been found, using in this case the definition of a stone-founded rural building, with two or more rooms, and sometimes evidence of architectural elaboration (Henig and Booth 2000: Fig. 4.1). There may also have been villas at Kings End Farm and South Farm, in Bicester (Booth in prep: 6). In the East, a number of villas lay along the western Fen Edge, in the vicinity of *Durobrivae* (Mattingly 2006: 386), and there were more in the vicinity of Cambridge (Oxford Archaeology 2005: 9; Browne 1977: 20). In the South, 16 villas are known within 15 km of *Verulamium* (Niblett 2001: 98). Elsewhere in the Chilterns, villas were spaced regularly along valleys, and it has been suggested that some form of planning control operated (Hunn 1995: 81).

Seven villas were identified in the study area, of which three were of ‘possible’ status only (Table 6.13). There were also several cropmark sites which could perhaps represent high status sites. However, the main point to note is the dichotomy between MK, and BD where very few high status buildings were present.

The date at which villas first developed is significant as a measure of the early take-up of a Roman lifestyle. Table 7.2A lists villas – however defined – for which reliable dating is available, and demonstrates that the South received the first villas, before AD 100. However, some sites in the study area, for example, Bancroft, and, not far distant, around *Lactodurum* in the North, were probably as precocious. At Mileoak an ‘elaborate house in Roman style’ was constructed in the late first century (Zeepvat 1991: 9; Black 1994: 104).

Early examples at Daventry and Piddington have been noted, which, like Gorhambury, might represent the early development from a native site to a villa. There are also examples (late first century) of *tesserae* at *Lactodurum* which might indicate the early adoption of architectural elaboration in the town (Neal and Cosh 2002: 225). Elsewhere, in the West and the East, villas were in general established from the later second century onwards.

7.2.5 Conclusions

While the study area as well as the comparative areas all display a great deal of diversity, the evidence suggests that the study area had affinities with the North and West in the lack of visibility of LIA roundhouses in some sites in MK, and with the South in the presence of early rectangular buildings in BD.

In the ERB period, as in the North, there were aisled buildings in higher status sites, replaced shortly afterwards by row-type houses. Rectangular buildings were also present alongside circular ones, sometimes replacing them, as in both North and South. Stone or stone-founded roundhouses were found in both North and West, particularly in the LRB, as in the study area, but were not noted for the South or the East.

An area focussing on Towcester, Piddington and the north of MK was, together with the South, amongst the first to adopt villa-type buildings. It is of interest that further north-west in Oxfordshire the Grims Dyke area also had villas as early as the end of the first century. Villas or higher status buildings were apparently as common in all comparative areas as in the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley as a whole: however, the high number in MK emphasises their sparseness in BD. The architectural evidence therefore suggests that BD was expressing identity in the RB period in the form of something other than architecture, and that in this the area resembled communities to the east, as well as those in the Fens (7.9.3).

7.3 The ceramic evidence

7.3.1 Introduction

Ceramics of the LIA or early RB period only are examined here, for, from the second century onwards, they vary more in both form and fabric according to the type of site – rural or urban, lower or higher status – than they do regionally (Cooper 2004: 84-91). The exception is LIA grog-tempered pottery: comparison has already been made with its distribution in the Hertfordshire area (4.5.2).

7.3.2 The evidence

The sequence of IA and LIA ceramics varied considerably between the study area and comparative areas. In Northamptonshire, LIA pottery arrived relatively late, in the first century AD (Kidd 2001: 8), and this was also the case in the West (Booth in prep: 4) and the East, where in north Cambridgeshire IA hand-made pots appear alongside LIA wheel-thrown versions in some sites (Bryant 1997: 26). In contrast, in the South locally wheel-thrown grog-tempered pottery had reached the north-east Chilterns by the early first century BC, yet did not arrive at *Verulamium*, to the south-west, until around 10 BC (Niblett 2001: 32), in line with the view that the former was the focus of power rather than the latter at this early stage (8.5.2).

Meanwhile, in the study area, LIA pottery was present in almost all LIA sites, although a few sites were conservative in this as in the ERB period, which is in line with the observation that LIA ceramics became evident in Buckinghamshire in the early first century AD only (Kidd in prep: 15). While grog-tempered pottery was present throughout the study area, again showing shared traditions with the South, only in BD was mixed sand and grog-tempered ware in use, and in this there were links with the Cambridge area in the East.

Pre-conquest continental imports, in the form of Gallo-Belgic wares, are only known at Piddington in the North (Kidd 2001: 8), although there are also some examples of imports in very early post-conquest (Claudio-Neronian) levels at Ashton (Taylor 2002b: 9). This also applies to the East, at *Duroliponte* (Plouviez 2002: 385), and at Bluntisham, where an

assemblage of GB pottery was found. Dating of the find context is unclear but the site was occupied in the LIA and ERB (Poppy *et al* 2006: 184). Few continental imports of any type, ceramic or otherwise, reached Oxfordshire either (Henig and Booth 2000: 25). However, in the South, large amounts of imported wares were reaching some sites, particularly Skeleton Green, by the end of the first century BC (Bryant 1997: 26). Rather later, the elite sites of Gorhambury and Folly Lane in *Verulamium* also contained a great deal of samian (Niblett 2001: 52). In contrast to the South, but as with the other adjacent regions, the study area appears to have received small quantities of Gallo-Belgic ware, but no samian at this stage.

In the South, the new drinking and eating culture was demonstrated by the nature of the Gallo-Belgic wares at both Skeleton Green, and at Baldock, where the LIA assemblage consisted of 134 platters, 25 cups, 11 pedestal cups, and 51 beakers (Stead and Rigby 1986: 223). In the study area vessel assemblages were not analysed in the same way. However, platters and dishes had reached nearly 40% of the sites in the LIA, and nearly 80% during the first century (R), suggesting that the area as a whole was quite precocious in taking up the new eating traditions.

7.3.3 Conclusions

In the LIA and ERB period, the study area appears to have had more in common in most aspects of ceramic culture with the South than elsewhere, supporting the view that associates the territory with the Eastern Kingdom. However, MK was more conservative in rather more aspects of ceramic traditions than was BD. Nevertheless, the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley received the new ceramics later, and in smaller quantities, than did the South. The ceramic evidence suggests therefore that the Middle and Upper Ouse valley was more closely linked to the heartlands of the Eastern Kingdom than were other neighbouring areas at this stage.

7.4 Evidence relating to literacy

7.4.1 Introduction

Comparisons here have been based largely on information in *Britannia*, *RIB* and Hanson and Conolly (2002). Table 7.3A illustrates the wide range of items associated with literacy which have been found in the comparative areas, and which are discussed briefly below.

7.4.2 The evidence

Monumental inscriptions were rare in adjacent regions, and none is known in the study area. Inscriptions relating to religious and votive items were found in the West (though only at Woodeaton) and were also present in the South. However, they were absent in the North and East, and in the study area, were only found at Stony Stratford, in the form of plaques containing dedications to classical deities (Table 6.18A). Graffiti, meanwhile, are found in all areas, varying from tiles bearing marks interpreted as ‘signatures’ of the tile makers, to owners’

marks on pottery vessels, as crudely formed as some of those found in the study area (Table 6.19A). Graffiti often appear illiterate; however, Skeleton Green had a variety of legible graffiti. Some were in pre-conquest contexts, and one, even earlier (AD 15-25) was inscribed GRAECUS (Williams 2002: 148), suggesting that a Greek, whether diplomat, trader, craftsman or slave, was already resident in the settlement.

Graffiti in Gallo-Latin have also been found at Sheepen in Colchester, in pre-conquest contexts. These were on Arretine ware, and it is thought that they may have been inscribed by wealthier members of the community, or traders (Woolf 1994: 92). However, this does not preclude the possibility that some local inhabitants could also have been literate at this stage (Potter and Trow 1988: 159). The study area, and the adjacent areas, all being coin-using at least to some extent in the LIA, would already have been familiar with the concept of writing.

Writing materials, throughout both study and adjacent areas, are found overwhelmingly at villa sites, rather than small or indeed larger settlements. This demonstrates that villas were undertaking different types of activity – perhaps letter writing or account keeping – as well as a greater element of literacy at these sites (4.6.2). Nevertheless, styli were also found at relatively low status rural settlements and farmsteads in the study area (Table 6.17A), as elsewhere in Britain, as demonstrated by Hanson and Conolly (2002). The only example of writing materials found in the West was a writing tablet, from a second century rural site at Bicester (Mattingly 2006: 461). By far the largest amount comes from the South, in particular the villa at Gorhambury; however, other items associated with literacy were also more numerous in this area than elsewhere.

Although most examples of writing materials come from villas, there is sufficient evidence in all areas from lower status rural sites to confirm that literacy, and the knowledge of Latin entailed, was not available to the elite only, but that it reached further down the social hierarchy, and more individuals, than hitherto believed. This is confirmed by finds of curse tablets, written by ordinary people rather than scribes, and of graffiti (Hanson and Conolly 2002: 156-160), as shown in Tables 6.19A and 7.3A.

7.4.3 Conclusions

It was not possible to examine items from the adjacent areas in such detail as those from the study area. It is likely that the South could reveal more evidence of literacy, for Table 7.3A, the result of a cursory search, already indicates a great deal of finds in that area. However, it is clear that, apart from monumental inscriptions, unknown in the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley, examples of other items associated with literacy were at least as common in the study area as in the North, East or West.

The main feature of the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley, however, is the difference between MK and BD. It suggests that while MK engaged to a greater degree in the epigraphic habit, whether for religious or economic reasons (votives or record-keeping), or simply to mark their personal belongings (graffiti on pots), in BD there was little desire or necessity to adopt this behaviour.

7.5 Evidence related to disposal of the dead

7.5.1 Introduction

The information in this section is biased by the fact that many of the cemeteries excavated have not yet been published, for example at Ashton and Laxton (Taylor and Flitcroft 2004: 76), and little detail is available on those in Oxfordshire either. A number of rural cemeteries are known in the *Durobrivae* area, but most result from early excavations and full details are not available (Mackreth 2001: Table 1). In contrast, many of those in the South are well documented – Baldock, Skeleton Green, King Harry Lane – but because excavation here has, over the years, concentrated on large or elite sites, little rural evidence is available.

7.5.2 Absence of the dead

‘Non-burial’ appears to have been common in Britain until the LIA if not later (2.8.4). Much of the East Midlands, including Northamptonshire, practised excarnation, for disarticulated bone is found in many contexts from the LBA onwards (Willis 2006: 117). The general lack of dead of ERB date suggests that similar invisible rites may also have taken place in this period too (Taylor 2006: 158). At Piddington, ‘small numbers of human bones’ were found in several RB contexts (Ayers 2002: 21). In the West, as noted, few IA burials were evident; this, together with the frequent finds of scattered human bone, imply that here too excarnation may have been practised, and furthermore, this continued in the RB period (Henig and Booth 2000: 19).

In the East, fragmentary and articulated human remains were found in pits, along with animal bones, at Harston near Cambridge (A Taylor 2001: 66). In the South, where LIA burial was more visible, at least in larger settlements, there is evidence of excarnation: for example, at Puckeridge, a human skull was found in what appears to have been rubbish deposits (Potter and Trow 1988: 7). At Baldock, a burial took place which may have had parallels with that at Folly Lane: the body was exposed within a mortuary house, and eventually cremated, perhaps up to 50 years later (around AD 25) (Fitzpatrick Matthews in prep: 303-304). These examples suggest that in both LIA and RB periods excarnation and other similar practices were widespread throughout the study area and adjacent regions.

7.5.3 Sequence of rite

Although examples of any form of IA burial are rare in the North, a LIA cemetery at *Lactodurum*, consisting of inhumations within a ditched enclosure, has been tentatively

identified (Willis 2006: 117). There is little evidence of LIA or even ERB cremation, an exception being the small cremation cemetery at Irchester, where four Aylesford-Swarling type urned cremations were found (Kidd 2004: 60). Cremation did eventually reach further into the area; for example, at Borough Hill, Daventry, a large RB barrow cemetery containing cremations of second century date was excavated in 1823 (Browne 1977: 184-190).

In Oxfordshire in general, the few burials identified for the LIA period were informal crouched inhumations, sometimes in pits. Cremation, when it did arrive, remained common into the third century (Henig and Booth 2000: 132). In the East, cremation had spread to much of the area by the later first century BC or the early first century AD (Bryant 1997: 27). For example, at Girton, well furnished box cremations of late first or early second century date were found, and another came from Milton (A Taylor 2001: 102).

In contrast, cremation reached the South by the later second or earlier first century BC, and a number of these were of the wealthy 'Welwyn' type (see below) (Bryant 1997: 27). However, crouched inhumation continued alongside cremations in large cemeteries, as at King Harry Lane where 455 cremations and 17 inhumations were recorded (A.Taylor: 2001; Niblett 2001: 43-4). At Baldock, LIA inhumations were found in five of the cemeteries, one of which was solely devoted to the rite in the LIA (Burleigh in prep (b): 1-2). These large LIA cemeteries in the South are the only examples in any of the regions examined here, including the study area.

Meanwhile, in the study area, cremation had reached the area during the LIA period, and was gradually replaced during the second and third century by inhumation. A few crouched inhumation burials continued alongside cremation in BD, well into the second century; this appears to have been an LIA/ERB practice in most of the adjacent areas, although not visible in MK.

7.5.4 Other burial rites

In the comparative areas, as in the study area, there was a great deal of inter-site and intrasite diversity in burial rites, exemplified by the cemetery excavations at Baldock in the South, where 1800 burials have been found, in 15 formal cemeteries and in backyard burials. Eight of the cemeteries have been completely excavated. Although burial rite generally followed the accepted sequence of LIA-ERB cremations, followed by MRB and LRB inhumations, there was a great deal of diversity. Cremation shows the various levels of 'Aylesford-Swarling' types (2.8.2) (Burleigh in prep (b): 4).

Aspects of grave furnishings noted for the study area and also found in Baldock were the use of animals in cremations, frequently pig in this case (Keith Matthews in prep: 315), and deliberately broken grave goods. Variations on inhumation burials were equally numerous. In the East, animal remains in cremations were common (Jones 2003: 82). Animal remains, both

burnt and unburnt, were also common the study area, and Philpott recorded a large number of both in south Cambridgeshire (the East) as well as the South. However, he listed none for the North or the West (Philpott 1991: Fig 17).

Decapitated burials were recorded by Philpott in an arc running from Cambridge to Dunstable, to west Oxfordshire, and along the Nene from Duston to Peterborough (Philpott 1991: Fig 23). Notably absent were any in the study area or the West comparative area: however, the Alchester and Kempston cemeteries had not been excavated at the time. The fact that decapitations have since been found at both sites (Henig and Booth 2000: 184; Dawson 2004) suggests that the tradition may have been more widespread generally than Philpott believed.

7.5.5 High status burial

So-called ‘aristocratic’ or ‘chieftain’ burials are known only in the South (Going 1997: 40). These are ‘Welwyn’ type cremations, featuring substantial vaults and lavish and exotic grave furnishings, and are named after the burials found between the rivers Lea and Mimram (Philpott 1991: 6; Bryant and Niblett 1997: 275). At Baldock, a well-appointed burial of mid-first century BC date was found at the Tene (Stead and Rigby 1986: 52-3). A less wealthy but still well-furnished cremation of similar date was found in the north-eastern part of the settlement (Burleigh in prep (a): 2-3).

At Folly Lane, *Verulamium*, there was an exceptionally rich cremation burial, in pre-Roman tradition. Although dated to AD 55 (Niblett 2001: 46), this has been disputed and it has been suggested that the body may have lain in the burial chamber some years before it was finally cremated, meaning that it could have belonged either to a LIA leader, or alternatively to a pro-Roman member of the elite. In the RB period, a small temple was built, and the site remained an important ritual and religious focus for several centuries (Creighton 2001: 402-403) (2.5.2). Further north, adjoining the study area at Stanfordsbury (Southill), the antiquarian Thomas Inskip found two lavishly-furnished cremations in deep vaults, possibly of post-conquest date (Simco 1984: 117). There are some indications that the early wealth of the Ivel Valley continued further north into the study area: for example, there may have been a ‘Welwyn’ type burial at Sharnbrook in BD (6.6.2). This may also have been of post-conquest date (3.4.2). Similar burials were also found at Snailwell and Hinxton in the East (A Taylor 2001: 78). Thus, while the most opulent burials in the LIA were restricted to the South, areas on its fringes – particularly southern BD and south Cambridgeshire – may have been influenced by this tradition. Yet, by the MRB period, it was MK which had burials of equal status to the South, rather than BD.

7.5.6 Conclusions

It is clear that the same diversity shown within the study area existed in adjacent areas, and that excarnation or similar practices were widespread. Where the study area differed is that LIA cremations were more common than in the North, East or West; in the North in particular cremation arrived late. However, BD, like most of the neighbouring territory, used crouched inhumation into the RB period, although this was not visible in MK. Although it is only the South which exhibited high status aristocratic burials of LIA/RB date, in the LIA and post-conquest period, there are strong hints that the pattern of elite burials continued from there down the Ivel valley into BD, and also into south Cambridgeshire.

7.6 Evidence related to ritual and religious behaviour

7.6.1 Introduction

While the burial analysis did not reveal great differences between the study area and its neighbours, this was not the case for all other forms of symbolic behaviour. Ritual deposition, ritual and religious locations and religious symbols are examined below.

7.6.2 Ritual deposition

As in the study area, a wide variety of ritual deposits were found in adjacent areas, although less visible in the East and the West, where the sole example noted was a special deposit found at Alchester (Booth in prep: 11). Elsewhere they range in the North from structured deposits including animal remains and querns, as at Hunsbury (Willis 2006: 126) and a plough coulter walled into a well, found at Bozeat villa (B Martin, pers.comm.), to a pit at Baldock in the South, containing 33 spearheads, located near a possible sacred area: similarities have been drawn to those found near the temple at Bancroft (Hingley 2006: 227).

In the study area, two types of deposit found more commonly in BD than MK are those of deliberately broken goods, and of human skulls. The unusual use of skulls is known in many East Midlands sites, as has already been noted in the context of excarnation (Willis 2006: 125). Judging by finds in some southern Fenland rural sites, skull cults were practised there (Mattingly 2006: 477), although this lies beyond the East comparative area. In the South, a post-conquest pit at Puckeridge, near Braughing, contained Claudian samian and a human skull vault (Potter and Trow 1988: 7). At Baldock, five non-funerary contexts contained skull fragments (Stead and Rigby 1986: 391). Near the Folly Lane burial, where an apparently deliberately defleshed skull was found (2.8.4), ritual shafts contained faces carefully cut from face pots, while others contained horse or ox skulls (Creighton 2001: 111). Overall, then, it appears that skull cults were present in most, if not all, adjacent regions, as in the study area.

Examples of deliberately smashed pots were found in the North, at the Rushden and Higham Ferrers Bypass site. One ERB ditch had six almost complete, but broken, jars and cups. Another similar group of pots were accompanied by a bronze ring with two snakes' heads (A Mudd, pers.comm.). In the South, possible ritual pits, containing several complete pots, were found at Baldock (Stead and Rigby 1986: 47) and at Boxfield Farm, Stevenage, 'nearly' complete samian vessels in burial may have represented the practice of removing sherds from vessels before deposition (Going and Hunn 1999: 33). In the study area, there are more examples of deliberately broken goods in BD, although they were also present in MK (Table 5.19A).

Another common find in the study area were animal deposits, particularly of horse and dog (Table 5.18A). These species were also frequently deposited in adjacent areas. Examples come from Piddington in the North, where a well contained two dog skulls and two horses' heads, as well as deliberately broken pots (Simpson 2002: 34-6). At Bicester Fields Farm in the West, an LIA settlement enclosure ditch contained deposits including a disproportionately high proportion of horse skulls (Cromarty *et al* 2000: 176, 229-230). In the South at Thorley, near Bishop Stortford, LIA rectilinear enclosures contained a circular structure, and pit deposits including horse mandibles and a dog (Esmonde Cleary 1995: 354-355).

7.6.3 Ritual and religious locations

Definite LIA shrines are rare in all areas but locations of ritual, defined by votive deposits, are now coming to light via metal detecting (Bryant 1997: 27). Some of these sites were in use in both LIA and RB, an example being the East Leicestershire hoard site, located just beyond comparative area of the North, where a large number of coin deposits, together with other metal items and animal bones, especially pig, were excavated (Priest 2005: 34-39). In the North itself, there may have been a shrine at Weekley (Willis 2006: 126), and at Titchmarsh, where a possible Roman temple has been identified from aerial photographs (Curteis *et al* 1999: 168-175).

In the East, near Peterborough, a site at Westwood produced a large number of IA coins, and may have been a ritual centre (Mackreth 2001: 35). In the West a LIA shrine may have preceded the RB temple at Woodeaton, but there is no structural evidence; the IA coins and LIA brooches found there could have been deposited in the RB period (Smith 2001: 185). In the South, an example of a possible LIA shrine has been found at the RB shrine to Senuna, near Baldock (7.6.4).

In addition to the above, Curteis has identified sites with coin deposits, as well as other votive offerings, as possible ritual locations, whose use sometimes continued into the RB period (6.7.2). These include sites with large coin deposits, in the North, at Ashton and Easton Maudit (Bozeat), and in the South at Cow Roast. Sites with a single coin, but accompanied by other

votives, include Brigstock, Collyweston, Hardingstone and Raunds (North), Castle Hill Cambridge (East), and Houghton Regis, Ruxux, Stotfold, Ware and Welwyn (South). None was noted for the West (Curteis 2001: 192-206). In the study area such sites were common in MK, but in the East, as in BD, they were apparently rare.

Table 7.4A lists RB temples and shrines – where there is evidence of structure – found in the study area and the comparative areas. It suggests that both rural and urban temples were relatively common in the North and South, less so in the East and West, or in the study area. Most were Romano-Celtic in type: the exceptions were at *Verulamium*, where two were in classical style (Jones and Mattingly 1990: 285; Rodwell 1980: 235). An example of a rectangular ditched enclosure, similar to the examples in BD, and also interpreted as a shrine, was found just to the north of the study area at Little Paxton on the Ouse. The enclosure, or possible *temenos*, contained a pit in which were found bronze letters, similar to those, for example, at Woodeaton temple (Dawson 2000c: 143).

7.6.4 Ritual and religious items

Table 7.5A indicates the wide range of artefacts found in adjacent areas. The volume and diversity of material found at Woodeaton in the West stands out: it includes votive offerings such as miniature weapons, and representation of classical deities, as well as an eastern god (Harpocrates). The temples further south and west in Oxfordshire, such as Frilford, show a similar range of items (Green 1976: 176).

Very few of the images of Roman deities bear their names, but at Woodeaton, as at Stony Stratford in MK, inscriptions to classical deities have also been found. The degree to which Roman deities were worshipped in their own right, syncretically with native deities, or as paired-name deities, in the study and comparative areas cannot be judged without further analysis (for example, of the type of artistic representation employed). However, the example from near Baldock, where a figure and votive plaques apparently depicted Minerva, but the inscriptions referred to Senuna, might suggest a syncretic cult, which would be very rare in a rural context (Mattingly 2006: 214-215). The only examples of eastern deities recorded here are the figurines of Harpocrates (Woodeaton) and Isis (Thornborough (5.4.2)), and an ‘Egyptian amulet’ (Welwyn), apart from Christian artefacts found at Ashton, *Durobrivae* and Sandy.

7.6.5 Ritual and religious behaviour: conclusions

This brief survey of ritual and religious activity suggests that ritual deposition within settlements and boundaries, rather than at religious locations, is likely to have been common to all regions. Taking the study area as a whole, it had more similarities with the South and West, in terms of formal religious practice (locations and artefacts), and with the South and North in deposition of metal votives. All these categories were scarcely visible in BD or in the East. Yet

BD, not MK, produced early (LIA/ERB) evidence of enclosures and structures of possible ritual purpose, but with little evidence of metal deposition. In addition, the only example of later religious locations in BD is the shrine at Kempston. It is therefore possible that religious identity was expressed differently in BD to much of the surrounding regions, except perhaps the area to the east.

7.7 Answering the question

Based on the Level 4 analysis above, this section now draws together the main themes and addresses the third question posed (1.8):

Does the evidence for changing identities, especially in the ERB period, suggest that the experience of Rome was different in the study area to that in adjacent territories?

Because of the considerable divergence in settlement and material culture between MK and BD, comparison with neighbouring areas is difficult. Nevertheless, a number of broad conclusions can be drawn, which are summarised in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6 Main differences between areas

Architecture	LIA: absence of roundhouses in some settlements in MK, as in adjacent parts of North and West. A few LIA rectangular buildings in BD, as found more frequently in the South.
	RB: higher levels of architectural elaboration, more stone buildings and villas, and greater hierarchical divide, in MK than in BD. This pattern extended to nearby parts of the North. Stone roundhouses common, as in North and West.
Ceramics	LIA/ERB: the study area has more in common with the South than elsewhere, although it received the new ceramics later and in smaller quantities.
Literacy	Evidence of literacy was at least as common as in the adjacent areas, but less than in the South, and was predominantly visible in MK.
Burial	All areas show a great deal of diversity and excarnation may have been widespread. In the LIA the study area resembles the South in the presence of cremation, although BD retained crouched inhumation longer. The South was the only location of LIA/ERB aristocratic burials, but some relatively high status examples were found in adjoining areas of BD. In the later period, wealthy burials appeared only in MK, as in the South.
Religion	In terms of formal religious practice and symbols, the study area had more in common with the South and West; in terms of deposition of metal goods with the South and North. All of this evidence was much more visible in MK than BD.
Ritual	Ritual deposition appears to have been widespread in all areas.

The evidence therefore suggests that identities displayed by material culture, including architecture, may have changed more slowly in the study area than in the South, but somewhat faster and more comprehensively than in the North, East and West. In terms of literacy, the study area probably had more in common with the South, and of formal religious practice,

involving Roman or syncretic deities, with the South and to some extent the West. In all areas, a great deal of diversity in burial is evident and both localised and more widespread ritual traditions continued. While in sequence of burial rite, the study area had more in common with the South, all areas showed a great deal of diversity in burial, and basic ritual traditions such as crouched inhumation and ritual deposition were more deeply entrenched and therefore slower to change.

However, while this north-south continuum may have been gradual, the east-west divide was more abrupt. In the LIA period, the early presence of LIA ceramic imports, rectangular building forms, Gallo-Belgic coins and ceramics, and a few high status burials, all betoken rather closer links in BD than in MK with the politically important high status sites of the early Eastern Kingdom, Braughing, Baldock and Welwyn (7.8.2). From the later first or early second century, the position reversed. While BD marked time and showed much slower development, MK began to catch up with the South, expressing its identity via the new architectural forms, the new ways of eating and dining, of communicating via writing, and of religion and votive deposition. This change was much less obvious in the North, and to some extent the West, but particularly so in the East and BD.

There was also an east-west divide in ceramic trading patterns, shown by dominance of soft pink grog and Oxford colour coats (OCC) in MK, as opposed to Harrold calcite-gritted ware and Nene Valley colour coats (NVCC) in BD. It seems that MK was developing ceramic trading links with the West, and beyond, the Oxford pottery producing area. This is a pattern seen further north, in Northamptonshire (6.11.5), which will be examined further in 8.6.2.

Yet, in the RB as in the LIA, basic ritual traditions and burial were more deeply entrenched and therefore slower to change. Even in BD, which experimented with the new material culture earlier, the tradition of crouched inhumation was retained alongside the new rite of cremation, and ritual deposition and curation persisted to a greater extent than in MK.

So, to conclude, not only was the experience of Rome different in the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley to that in surrounding territories – to varying extents, in differing spheres of life – but *within* the study area it differed even more.

7.8 Small towns and other large settlements

7.8.1 Introduction

Table 7.7A lists large and small towns and other roadside settlements in the study and comparative areas, using the classification given in the sources used. Where possible, it shows size of town, its position on roads, and presence of temples and *mansiones*. Most obvious in Table 7.7A is the fact that only three large settlements or towns are listed for the study area

(4.3.1). This can be partially accounted for by its smaller size, and the lack of roads traversing it, a total of about 35 km, of which 25 km consisted of Watling Street, and about 15 km of the Baldock-*Durovigutum* road. Table 7.7A shows that the great majority of settlements listed for comparative areas are located on major routes. The advent of the major routes, together with the construction of *mansiones* and *mutationes*, would have provided impetus for the development of small towns, as, for example, at Dunstable (Dawson 2004: 71). Otherwise, the RB period brought at first little change to settlement patterns. That the towns varied in size and role is clear, which may partly account for the divergence between the sites in the study area, and between those in the study area and adjacent areas.

7.8.2 Comparing the towns

The small towns in the study area were discussed in Chapter 4, and are illustrated in Figs 4.4A to 4.6A. *Lactodurum* and Baldock are described below, in order to compare them with *Magiovinium* and Sandy respectively. The former were chosen because they are located on the same routes and might therefore be expected to have had much in common. However, there is no comparator for Kempston, which was a very unusual settlement. While the latter lies mainly under pastoral land and has been subjected to extensive excavation, investigations at *Lactodurum* and *Magiovinium* have been restricted as they lie under later settlement. This does not apply to the same extent to Sandy, where Saxon and later occupation moved further north, but information has been derived mainly from 19th century development including railway construction, together with a few rescue and PPG16 excavations in recent times.

There is some evidence at *Lactodurum*, as at *Magiovinium*, of LIA settlement in the vicinity (Taylor *et al* 2002b: 10). However, apart from also being located on Watling Street, there was little resemblance between the two towns. Unlike *Magiovinium*, *Lactodurum* possessed several possible substantial stone-founded or stone buildings, which may have been public baths, a *mansio* and associated baths, or other public buildings. At least one stone temple, polygonal in shape, is known, of relatively early date (late first century), and two other sites in the town may have been religious foci. The high proportion of regional and imported fabrics in quantified assemblages suggests that the town traded in ceramics, and no doubt other items no longer visible. *Lactodurum* may therefore have been a trading and religious centre, but also have had a role in local administration and taxation (Taylor *et al* 2002b: 16-22, 7). There is as yet no firm evidence of public buildings at *Magiovinium* and it is likely that the town had a lesser administrative function than did *Lactodurum*.

The differences might be partly due to the location of *Lactodurum*, at the junction of Watling Street and the Alchester Road. Alchester is now known to have been an important military base in the conquest period, at the junction of major routes, including one to the coast at Chichester

(Mattingly 2006: 142), whereas only minor roads meet Watling Street at *Magiovinium*. A second reason for the distinction between the two settlements might be the proximity of villas close to *Lactodurum*, and their absence in the vicinity of *Magiovinium*. There was a cluster of villas close to *Lactodurum*, including Wood Burcote, only a kilometre to the west. Meanwhile towns to the south, including *Magiovinium*, only had a single example nearby (Neal and Cosh 2002: 225).

Baldock lies at an important junction of IA routes to Welwyn and *Verlamion*, Sandy and Godmanchester, Braughing and *Camulodunum*. These were provided with metalling and side ditches by the early RB period (Burleigh *et al* 2006: 275). Baldock developed from a wealthy LIA settlement into a small town where the new Roman road was superimposed upon LIA patterns of field systems, although there appears to have been some degree of planning in its layout. The town contained a mixture of rectangular and circular buildings, and extended for some distance along its roads.

There was a burial zone containing many cemeteries along the eastern edge of the town, and a smaller number of burials on the western periphery. Baldock appears to have been a religious, burial and market centre, and perhaps less of the latter than the former, judging by the many votive deposits found there (Thompson 2005: 4). These have been examined in detail by Curteis, who interpreted Baldock as a ritual and ceremonial focus, set within a complex of cemeteries and settlements (Curteis 2005: 216). Unlike Sandy, Baldock is known to have had at least one temple, but has produced a great deal of burial evidence. This is also the case at Sandy, which however has been less thoroughly investigated (5.2.3).

Therefore Baldock and Sandy were probably important burial and religious sites in both the LIA and RB periods. However, *Magiovinium* and *Lactodurum* had apparently less in common, although they were both situated on Watling Street. The nature of Kempston is obscure but there is no evidence that it played a part in local administration, particularly as no Roman road is known to have served it.

7.8.3 Conclusions

There were considerable similarities between the towns of Sandy and Baldock, which underline their early development and links with the Eastern Kingdom, links which the new towns on Watling Street may not have had, and which, perhaps, accounted for their different developmental trajectory. However, none of the three large settlements in the study area has produced sufficient evidence to suggest that it had any high profile administrative role in the region, in the manner that *Lactodurum* may have done. This subject will be further explored in 8.6.2.

7.9 Models of landscape change

7.9.1 Introduction

This section, after briefly considering the impact of the conquest, examines some models of development which have been advanced for the study area and adjacent areas, and which might have accounted for the regional diversity outlined above.

7.9.2 Impact of the conquest

There is limited evidence of early Roman military presence in the North, although an early military phase at Piddington villa (7.2.4), and forts at Irchester and *Lactodurum*, have been tentatively suggested (Millet 1990: 62). It could therefore be inferred that the area was largely accepting of new rulers (Kidd 2004: 62), or, alternatively, that any opposition had been overcome. In the East, the Roman army had established a fort at *Durobrivae* by AD 47, controlling a crossing of the Nene, and a larger, vexillation fortress at nearby Longthorpe (Fincham 2004: 21-24), and forts were also present at *Durovigutum* and *Duroliponte* (Millet 1990: 62).

In the West, the sites around Bicester appear to have ended occupation around the conquest, in spite of continuity generally elsewhere in the county. This may have been due to different treatment of sites around the fort at Alchester. Alternatively, it has been tentatively attributed to different treatment of local people, part of the Eastern Kingdom, who were seen as aggressive towards the western peoples, with whom Rome had a treaty. Possibly the former were resettled in a form of reprisal (Booth in prep: 3). The area was probably affected by the upheaval of the Boudican rebellion, especially since major supply routes passed through here (Akeman Street, the east-west route, and the Watling Street to the south coast route, via Alchester, Dorchester and Silchester). Furthermore, there could have been reprisals here against local people who took the side of the *Icen*i and *Trinovantes* against Rome (Mattingly 2006: 106-107).

Meanwhile in the South, at *Verulamium*, the native elite were permitted to retain their privileged position, unlike those in *Camulodunum* who appear to have opposed the Roman presence, and where a legionary fortress was established (Mattingly 2006: 137). The extent to which the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley was affected by any military presence is unclear: the only fort proposed, at *Magiovinium*, being unconfirmed. However, due to its location near Watling Street, the west of the study area was as likely to have been disturbed by events during the conquest and Boudican rebellion as was the Alchester area further west.

7.9.3 Models for comparative areas

In spite of the fact that there was no great change in settlement patterns in the transitional LIA/RB period, at a later date, closely spaced villas and large settlements developed along the

Nene, indicating the economic importance of the valley. A model for the development of the east Midlands, based on iron production, suggests that while the local LIA elite controlled iron sources, after the conquest the state took control. When the army moved on, local inhabitants may once again have taken over. Possibly the industry was independently organised by self-contained rural groups, consisting of one or more families. This would have stimulated the local economy but at the same time contributed to imperial income, for the trade would have been subject to tax.

There is no evidence however that the iron industry was under long-term direct imperial control in the East Midlands, unlike in the Weald. Instead, sites were more likely to have operated independently, on different scales, with varying state involvement, depending on their output. There may therefore have been different modes of administration of iron production, direct, indirect or managed exploitation. Furthermore, the fact that iron production sites appear to have clustered around roads and rivers – for reasons of transport presumably – rather than near villas, suggests that they were not controlled by the latter (Schrüfer-Kolb 2004: 102-108). However, even if villas were not directly involved with iron production, the large number found in the Nene Valley indicate that this, together with the other local industry, pottery manufacture, proved very profitable. In fact, the *Durobrivae* area in particular has been described a ‘complex industrial agglomeration’, for as well as pottery and iron industries, other metals were worked here (Fulford 2006: 609; Schrüfer-Kolb 2000: 60).

In the West, recent excavations, for example at Islip, have led to the identification of a general dislocation of earlier landscapes, which had remained almost untouched after the conquest, apart from the Bicester/Alchester area. Around AD 130, a large number of rural sites ceased, but many more were newly established. However, in the Grims Dyke area beyond the comparative area, the early villa sites, possibly occupied by the elite of the western group, were untouched. It is suggested that there was political intervention which resulted in settlement change, but was restricted to the territory of the Southern and Eastern Kingdoms (Booth in prep: 6-7).

The comparative area of the East consists in part of the western Fen edge, which is one of the components of the model proposed by Fincham for the Fenlands (Fincham 2001). This ribbon of higher land, carrying Roman roads, canals, villas, and small towns – *Durobrivae*, *Durovigutum* and *Duroliponte* – was wealthier than the Fenland areas to the east, partly because the latter were unstable as prone to flooding and silting up, and partly because they were exploited differently, as discussed below.

Fincham divided the Fens into the Fen edge, the Fen Islands (central fens) and the Silt Fens, to the north. Whereas the southern towns of the Fen edge had less easy access to the Fenland, this

was not the case for nearby *Durobrivae*, an intensively occupied working settlement, with a hinterland of iron working, stone quarrying, pot production, salt making and possibly a mosaic school (Fincham 2001: 63).

Durobrivae also appears to have dominated the Silt Fen and the Fen Islands economically. In particular, it may have held control of the salt and iron industries, under the auspices of either a native elite, or imperial officialdom. But the Fen edge also affected the lifestyle of its eastern neighbours: while its communities in the main displayed wealth via architecture, it influenced the Silt Fens, who used Roman roofing tile, but on timber structures. Meanwhile, in the south, the Fen Islands, where status had previously been displayed via portable material culture, continued to do so, apart from a few stone buildings using tile, which are seen as official rather than native sites, for example, Stonea. Elsewhere, the southern Fen edge sites, especially *Duroliponte*, which had, like the Fen Islands, a strong LIA identity, manifested their status in a combination of architectural and portable wealth (Fincham 2001: 33, 65, 68). This study suggests that although Roman control was involved in the development of the Fenlands, which were already settled and producing salt in the LIA, local people were still able to negotiate their own identities (Mattingly 2006: 384-385).

In the South, a dominant settlement type appears to have been large complexes, of which there were six, in Hertfordshire and the north Chilterns. These were Wheathampstead, Bulbourne valley (Cow Roast/Ashridge), Welwyn, Braughing, Baldock and *Verlamion*. The last four have been characterised as follows (Bryant 2007: 66-78):

Braughing: a centre for long-distance and high-status trade, possibly politically controlled.

A site of intensive occupation in the LIA period, trading declined in the later first century AD, but it remained a political and administrative centre in the RB period.

Welwyn: this may have followed a similar trajectory to Braughing, and have been a high-status centre, as suggested by the rich burials in the vicinity.

Baldock: a similarly important focus, which may have developed round a burial and ritual site located in a prehistoric sacred landscape at the source of the Ivel. Also a high status political and administrative centre in the first century AD.

Verlamion: a major burial and ritual focus, in the first century AD. However, *contra* Creighton (2.5.2), Bryant states that there is no proof that it was deliberately founded to consolidate political structures.

For the later RB period, Thiessen polygons have been applied in order to estimate the size, location and population of possible villa estates (Hunn 1995). To the west of *Verulamium*, nine such estates have been hypothesised, each with an average of 1956 ha of land. By analogy with historical data this would require an average of about 200 labourers to work (Hunn 1995: 88-

89). In comparison, a similar exercise for Boxfield Farm in the Stevenage area, a farmstead rather than estate, suggests a territory of between 130-200 ha, which could support and be maintained by a single extended family (Hunn 1996: 56). Polygon studies are discussed further below.

7.9.4 Models for the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley

Several models have been proposed for the RB period, although none applies to the study area as a whole. The first, relating particularly to the Milton Keynes and North Buckinghamshire area, sees the Ouse Valley as located in the *civitas Catuvellaunorum*, forming part of two *pagi* (rural districts), where the area north of the Ouse centred on *Lactodurum* or, to the south, on *Magiovinium*. These towns would have been the local administrative and commercial centres, and Ashfurlong may have been a market centre (Zeepvat 1987a: 14).

Zeepvat used parish boundaries, often based on pre-existing land holdings possibly surviving from the RB period, together with theoretical territories around RB sites in MK defined by Thiessen polygons. Most MK parishes contained one major RB estate/villa site (Zeepvat 1987a: 16). However, as already noted, many of the suggested villa sites do not qualify for this status according to my criteria (6.3.2), and there is no proof that land holdings did maintain the same boundaries over such a great length of time. Nevertheless, Zeepvat's later model, that there was 'a variety of different-sized units', from small farmsteads of basic type to small farms with some evidence of more elaborate architecture and material culture, to substantial villas such as Bancroft (Zeepvat 1991: 57), does (perhaps unsurprisingly) appear to have been correct.

A third model, for the Bedford region, and the middle Ouse area in general, was that after the conquest the area remained 'an isolated frontier area', far from the heartlands, *Verulamium* and Leicester, and ripe for exploitation, in which the possible establishment of a veteran settlement at Kempston may have played a part, but the local elite could also have had a role. The lack of villas has often been attributed to the presence of an imperial estate. However, Dawson discounted the likelihood of these, or of any associated centuriation, in the area (Dawson 2004: 81). Indeed, there is no certain evidence of centuriation in Britain at all, although it is likely to have taken place around earlier *coloniae* (Colchester, Lincoln, Gloucester) to some extent. Nevertheless, it is likely that lands were still measured and assessed, if only for tax purposes. Furthermore, it is possible that villas did exist on imperial estates, or just as likely could have been owned by army veterans, private individuals both British and foreign, the military or religious organisations (Mattingly 2006: 371-372, 360).

Instead, Dawson proposed four types of settlement for the Bedfordshire reaches of the Ouse:

- 1 Substantial farms or villas.

- 2 Large rural sites like Kempston, founded shortly after the conquest, and planned, with regular metalled trackways.
- 3 Rural sites, consisting of a series of linear enclosures on gravel terraces, often parallel to rivers.
- 4 Farmsteads, often occupied from the first century BC to the fourth century.

For the first category, Dawson envisaged a pattern of villa estates, based on his proposed villas (6.3.2), not all of which fall into the study area. Using Thiessen polygons, 16 such estates, each with a site catchment area of 7854 ha, were reconstructed (Dawson 2004: 74-6). The evidence for these estates in BD, is, however, as elusive as that for the villa buildings themselves. Nevertheless, probably some substantial farms, even a few villas, did exist. Of the second category, Dawson admits only one has been investigated (Kempston itself). The last two categories were, however, evident during the course of this research: examples of Type 3 are Warren Villas, and of Type 4, Norse Road and Peartree Farm.

7.9.5 Conclusions

This research, while confirming the findings of the Milton Keynes survey (Zeepvat 1991), does not agree with the recent summary of activity in the BD area (Dawson 2004), for there is little evidence of substantial farms or villas in BD, or of much settlement hierarchy on which to base a hypothetical network of villa estates. In addition, the hypothetical private villa estates in BD can be questioned on a number of counts. The estimates of landholdings and their working populations are inconsistent: for example, Dawson's average of 7854 ha for the Ouse Valley, and Hunn's estimate of around 2000 ha for the Chilterns, differ wildly. It seems unlikely that estates in one area would have been a quarter of the size of those in the other (especially since the former, the Chilterns villas, were particularly wealthy). The reconstruction of villa estates also ignores the possibility of fragmented land holdings, as well as diachronic change. As nowadays, land ownership would not have been static, and over time property would have been dispersed – or aggregated – by state confiscation, sales or rental, or gifts to and from the emperor (Mattingly 2006: 494).

The concept of imperial estates, as applied, for example to the Fens, is equally questionable. The factors supporting this theory can all be challenged: imperial control of the salt trade is unlikely because it was too widespread an activity, draining the Fens was apparently a piecemeal achievement, rather than a grand planned undertaking, and the lack of villas does not necessarily mean that an imperial estate took their place. Instead, it is more likely that the Fenlands consisted of small parcels of land, under separate ownership (Fincham 2001: 67, 74).

A more realistic approach therefore might be to look at land use and tenure as a whole, rather than estate holdings alone. This subject will be discussed further in Chapter 8, along with other economic and political considerations.

7.10 Overall conclusions

This comparison of the study area with its comparative areas has served several purposes. First, it demonstrates that although there was a similar overarching trajectory in most spheres of life, particularly material culture, this concealed a great deal of variation. Thus, the study area had much in common with its neighbours, but nevertheless there was an underlying patchwork of overlapping identities, social, political, status and religious. Overall, however, it is clear that the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley as a whole had more links with the South than with other adjacent areas.

Second, it reveals that comparative areas, like the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley, also display considerable *internal* diversity. Examples are the wealthy LIA burials restricted to the eastern Chilterns in the South, and the regional architectural divide in the North. If the comparative areas were to be extended further west and east, western Oxfordshire (Grims Dyke area) would reveal earlier villas than elsewhere in the county, while the Fen Edge (in the East) has been shown by Fincham to have had a very separate identity from the nearby Fen Islands area. Models which take a wider perspective will be discussed in 8.7.3.

Finally, the examination of developmental trajectories in adjacent areas has brought an awareness of possible scenarios which might explain the dramatic differences shown between the case study areas of the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley in the Romano-British period. Both subjects will be explored more fully in Chapter 8, in order to suggest how the study area fitted into politico-economic structures of the LIA and RB period.

Chapter 8 Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

8.1.1 The rigour of the evidence

Before attempting to interpret the analyses undertaken in this research, it would be circumspect to consider whether these results are biased by the nature of archaeological investigations in the study area. While it is true that most excavation in MK took place in the 1970-1980s, and in BD at a later period when there would have been more awareness of less tangible topics such as ritual deposition, this is counter-balanced by the very thorough pottery analyses which covered MK (Marney 1989). In contrast, as the BD excavations were mainly in response to the demands of PPG16, less resource was allocated to ceramic analysis, and fewer assemblages were available to analyse for BD. We have therefore a potential imbalance in that more ritual evidence is available for BD, and more ceramic evidence for MK. Yet possible ritual activity was identified in some of the Milton Keynes monographs, such as Wavendon Gate (Williams *et al* 1996), and where ceramic analysis is available for BD, it is as thorough as that in MK. In fact, Bedfordshire is now constructing its own fabric series.

Types of material culture which provide incontrovertible evidence, whether revealed by excavation, field-walking or random finds, include architectural remains and metal items, and all are found more frequently in MK than in BD. Surface finds of stone and ceramic building materials are easily recognisable, unlike remains of traditional structures which are also far less likely to be preserved. Therefore, until BD excavations begin to reveal stone or stone-founded buildings, and more evidence of architectural elaboration, it must be assumed that these were far more common in MK. In addition, the SMR data for MK contain far more evidence for epigraphy and objects related to Roman religion than do those for BD. There are also many more coins and metal items, presenting possible ritual locations, recorded for MK, particularly those revealed by metal-detecting. However, it has already been noted that, for Sandy at least, BD metal finds have been poorly recorded (4.7.1).

The fact that precisely-dated archaeological finds are only revealed where excavations have taken place is a true bias. However, it is one which affects both MK and BD, for archaeological investigation has focussed predominantly on the development area of Milton Keynes and the environs of Bedford. Large expanses of both case study areas still remain to be explored.

8.1.2 Contents of chapter

First, this chapter addresses some of the original reasons for undertaking this research, relating to the importance of the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley (1.4). Second, assuming the divergence seen between MK and BD is not solely the result of excavation bias, some possible

topographical and environmental reasons are offered. Third, based on the salient points from Chapters 4 to 7, and interpreted in the light of theoretical concepts discussed in Chapter 2, the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley is set in the political context of LIA and Roman Britain, and possible social and political explanations are proposed. Finally, some suggestions are given for future research which could build upon the results of this thesis.

8.2 The nature of boundaries

8.2.1 Boundaries and population groupings

The reconstruction of boundaries in general was discussed in 2.4. This section discusses studies which relate particularly to the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley, and population boundaries which may have existed within it, or in its vicinity. In the north of Northamptonshire, the presence of shrines at Titchmarsh could possibly indicate that the settlement marked the boundary between the *Catuvellauni* and *Corieltavi* (Curteis *et al.* 1999: 168-175). In the south of the county, Evenley, also a likely ritual location (6.7.2), may have marked the boundary between the *Catuvellauni* and *Dobunni* (Curteis 1996: 24). Woodeaton temple, or the river Cherwell, both in Oxfordshire, have also been proposed as boundary markers between these two groups (Henig and Booth 2000: 122; Kidd 2004: 57).

In addition, Aves Ditch, which lies just to the east of the Cherwell, may have constituted a boundary between *Catuvellauni* and *Dobunni* territory. More specifically, Aves Ditch could be seen as a LIA aristocratic monument, emulating Roman rectilinear boundaries, in an attempt both to show status, but also to control a large expanse of territory (Sauer 2005a: 32-36). Further north, Watling Street has been suggested as the possible eastern boundary of the *Dobunni*, presumably in the ERB period (Mason 2006: 40). However, this area falls into territory possibly not administered by either *civitas* (Mattingly 2006: Fig 10), and would impinge upon the supposed territory of both *Corieltavi* and *Cornovii*.

It has already been concluded that the reconstruction of population boundaries in general, by whatever method, is unreliable. Although coin distribution might appear to indicate large and stable groupings, many were issued by smaller groups or individuals, with allegiances crossing 'tribal' boundaries (Hill 2007: 26). These may represent individual kings or kingdoms, possibly divided and re-organised in the post-conquest period (Collis 2007: 526). It has also been suggested that in the LIA, wider and looser identities and relationships came into being, originating in exchange but maintained by social and ritual practice (Haselgrove and Moore 2007: 8). With these possibilities in mind, together with the fact that the proposed locations of boundaries in the vicinity of the study area differ so much, it is futile to take bounded populations groupings into consideration.

8.2.2 The role of the River Ouse

One of the original reasons for undertaking this study was to discover whether the River Ouse acted as a barrier, a boundary, or a means of communication. The evidence suggests that the river is unlikely to have presented an obstruction, even in its wider reaches. For example, at Carlton and Harrold in BD, which lie opposite each other across the Ouse, and where (nowadays at least) the river is relatively wide and deep, there appears to have been a track leading from the river towards each settlement, probably linked by a bridge or ‘ferry’ (6.10) (Fig 6.30A). Although the river may not have acted as a physical barrier, it may have been a cultural one, but there is no evidence to suggest this, for example in the form of a distinction between types of material culture or behaviour between the north and south of the river.

The river did however act as a means of communication, particularly in BD. The Ouse and its tributaries were the focus of settlement throughout the study area in the LIA, and although this was not the case from the later first century onwards in MK, when new sites appeared around Watling Street, in BD there was little if any settlement reorganisation (4.2.2). In addition, the thriving pottery trade from Harrold to *Magiovinium*, together with the fact that much of BD lacked good roads and was likely to have depended on the Ouse for transport, indicate the importance of the river system. The predominance of colour-coated wares from the Nene Valley rather than Oxfordshire in BD (6.11), and the fact that coal from northern England was found at Wyboston (Roxton) also suggest links by water transport, via the lower reaches of the Ouse and The Wash (Simco 1984: 114; A.H.V. Smith 1997: 304-304).

Finally, there is evidence that some LIA and RB communities continued to respect and reuse the prehistoric sacred landscapes which are found along the middle and lower reaches of the river (6.8.3). Overall, apart from depredations due to flooding, the river can be seen to have had a positive rather than a negative effect on the lives of local people.

8.2.3 Conclusions

One of the starting points for this research was that Middle and Upper Ouse Valley was ‘liminal’, located at the periphery of ‘tribal’ territories. It cannot be denied that in many respects the study area was not closely integrated with the Eastern Kingdom in the LIA, and that even in the RB period there was rather less evidence of the adoption of the full Roman ‘cultural package’ than the neighbouring area to the south, centred on *Verulamium*, to which it could be described as peripheral. However, since the concept of bounded population groupings has been discarded, by definition the existence of a liminal area between two groups is not plausible either. For that reason, the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley cannot be considered ‘liminal’. Furthermore there is no evidence that the River Ouse acted as a population boundary, and instead the division, as already stated, is more one between east and west (7.7).

8.3 Identity: change and continuity

8.3.1 Introduction

This section examines change and continuity in identities in the study area, and it also considers the role of the individual. For example, the growth of towns may have been more dependent on the actions of individuals, than on any official standardised plan (Creighton 2006: 125), and, as already noted, patterns of land use may also be due to individual actions and relationships.

8.3.2 Changing identities

In boundary areas a ‘palimpsest of activity’ of different communities can result in a mixture of material culture and behaviour (Curteis 1996: 18). A study of the Severn region in the LIA saw webs of relationships, indicating fluid and cross-cutting identities, which might represent, for example, small and large groups, different social and economic relationships (Moore 2007a: 96-97). This may have been the case in the study area, where, in the LIA period, spheres of life overlapped geographically. Individuals, families or larger communities may have identified with one area for burial, and different areas for other facets of life, such as architecture, foodways, or ritual, resulting in fluid, ambiguous and cross-cutting identities. Thus, while BD shared common traditions with the North in terms of crouched inhumation, and enjoyed contacts with the East and the Fens, it also adopted new practices, such as cremation, and the use of rectilinear architecture, and of drinking and dining assemblages from the South.

However, from the second century onwards there was much more of a dichotomy than before, and less evidence of overlapping identities, perhaps suggesting that allegiances were beginning to crystallise. The result in MK was a stratified society, with some very high status sites, and a range of much more modest ones, and the adoption of Roman-style behaviour and material culture, at least by the elite. Meanwhile, in BD, where most sites remained at a moderate level, both in size and status, aspirations were different, perhaps framed by pre-existing LIA identities, in which status was expressed by means other than architecture or material culture.

8.3.3 Unchanging identities

So far, little has been said in this chapter about aspects of burial, ritual, or the more formal aspects of religion. Forms of symbolic behaviour involving deep underlying beliefs, such as ritual deposition, are ‘pervasive’ and long-lasting (Fulford 2001: 215), and are therefore less subject to change than are more ostentatious and overt expressions of identity associated with material culture, architecture, and, particularly, religion (Edwards 2005: 128). Persistent behaviour relating to disposal of the dead includes excarnation and similar practices, crouched inhumation and isolated burials.

The second type of activity which shows little change over time is that of ritual deposition, particularly in domestic context. As already noted (2.9.1), ritual activity was closely integrated with everyday life, which would also mitigate against sudden change. Some types of deposition, particularly animal burials, deliberately damaged goods, and the ritual use of human skulls, were long-standing and sometimes localised traditions (5.3). The third type of activity in this category is the deposition of metal items in ritual or religious locations (3.9.4). The final form of symbolic activity is that of respect of the past, revealed both in the reuse of earlier sacred landscapes, and also in curation of objects from the past (6.8).

With the exception of votive deposition, these forms of behaviour were most visible in BD, suggesting that this part of the study area had deeper roots in the past and more regard for its ancestry and earlier identities. It has been noted that Cambridgeshire and the Fens, with which BD had cultural links in both LIA and RB, had strong regional identities, persisting over many generations. They were selective in the items of Roman material culture and behaviour which they chose to adopt (Lucy 2005: 103), and this may also have applied to BD. It could also indicate that while the population of BD in the RB period was largely indigenous, conversely in MK there were more intrusive elements, perhaps as a result of resettlement and land re-allocation. This topic will be explored further in 8.7.4.

8.3.4 The role of the individual

From the earlier LIA onwards, it seems that individual, rather than group agency, was the motor of change in southern Britain. Elite individuals were involved in importing ceramics to display the new eating and drinking behaviour (Hill 2007: 29). Individual rulers of the Southern and Eastern Kingdoms held sway in the years between Caesar's arrival and the Flavian period. During this time, whether as *obsides* in Rome, serving with the army, or simply exploiting opportunities at home which came with the influx of the military and foreign traders, they 'found common purpose with Rome'. A new imperial culture developed as they formed new identities for themselves (Creighton 2006: 157-161).

The development of towns was also dependent on the actions of various individuals, and varied according to their backgrounds and aspirations. As a result, towns were generally dynamic and organic in their growth, rather than static, or formal in layout (Creighton 2006: 70-71, 77). Client rulers were important in the development of towns, as is evident from the fact that *Verulamium* and Silchester show both Roman and non-Roman influences (Mattingly 2006: 266, 270-271). Nevertheless, while the role of the indigenous elite was important, so too was that of the state, which allocated land to separate groups and individuals in varying amounts and under different terms. Incomers, such as retired military officials, traders and other settlers will also have had considerable influence (Mattingly 2006: 355).

A search for the individual in the study area itself reveals a number of possible examples. Most obvious is the diversity in burial, for example, grave goods accompanying cremations (5.2.5). This variety need not necessarily solely reflect the status of the dead, but could indicate personal choice, or at least that of their families. The influence of individuals or small groups is visible in the iron production industry, and possibly in the choice to practise other ways of life in BD, such as pastoralism as opposed to agriculture.

The prime example of elite identity is the high status site at Bancroft in MK, expressed in the ostentatious mausoleum and the villa itself (5.2.7; 4.4.7). In BD there are some hints of elite involvement in the development of Kempston (4.3.4). It has also been suggested that the track listed by the Viatores as Route 224, which was apparently unsurfaced and little used, was built by the local elite in emulation of Roman customs, perhaps by an individual with business interests in Sandy (Simco 1984: 66). Simco did not remark on the fact that Route 224 led from Sandy to beyond Cople (6.10), and, as seen in Fig 8.1, was aligned with Kempston, which was not excavated until the 1990s. There is no evidence that it reached the town, but that possibility remains. Perhaps Kempston provided Sandy with some type of commodity – or there was some other economic or social link between the communities?

8.3.5 Conclusions

Although there were broad divisions in the study area between MK and BD, particularly in the RB period, this should not obscure the considerable diversity in behaviour shown within both MK and BD, for example the differential uptake of new architectural forms in MK sites, and in BD the variety of land use visible. Clearly both communities and the individuals within them were expressing their identity and ‘being Roman’ in multiple ways (Mattingly 2006: 520).

8.4 Communications and land use

8.4.1 Introduction

This section summarises information on communication and resources, some of which is touched upon in earlier chapters, and which could help to explain the differences within the study area.

8.4.2 Communications

Any disparity between the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley and the South would have been to some extent due to geographical location – slightly cut off by the Greensand Ridge, and some 50 km distant from the centre of the Eastern Kingdom, the *Verlamion* and Baldock area of the Chilterns. Only one north-south route of LIA date is known, which is the track from Baldock to Sandy, leading to *Durovigutum*, and possibly beyond to the Fens (7.8.2). The fenlands were producing salt from the Late Bronze Age onwards, and there is evidence of increasing

production in the LIA and ERB periods. It is thought that salt was by then being transported to parts of the east Midlands. Hypothetical distribution maps, with a range of 75 km, show that BD lay within this area, but MK was beyond its limits (Morris 2007: 440-441). If this were the case, not only did BD have contact with the political centres of the Eastern Kingdom, but also with communities further north, in the Fens, whence salt, an important commodity for preservation of meat, as well as for tanning leather, could have been obtained. Access to salt, at least from this source, would have been more difficult for MK.

In contrast, there appear to have been no major north-south routes in MK, although possible east-west routes are known, between *Magiovinium* and Kings Sutton (6.10). A further factor which will have affected the west of the study area throughout both LIA and RB periods, together with north Oxfordshire and west Northamptonshire, might be the difficulty of river transport, for this far inland rivers are too small to navigate with large craft. This did not generally apply to BD (6.10), which would also have had easier access to the lower reaches of the Ouse and the other rivers flowing through the Fens and into the Wash.

In the RB period, the similarities in aspects of religion, material culture and evidence of literacy in western parts of the study area (MK), the South and to some extent the West, may have been due to increasing contact, facilitated by the development of the Alchester road, Watling Street and road networks with the Chilterns area, particularly the developing towns of *Verulamium* and *Londinium*. Meanwhile, in the east of the study area, BD and parts of the Nene valley remained relatively isolated, and dependent on the Sandy road. This road served the LIA settlements of Baldock and Braughing, which, although they remained large centres in the RB period, did not have the same importance as *Verulamium*. It may also be significant that none of the 15 routes in the Antonine Itinerary traverse the BD area, linking *Durobrivae* with *Londinium* (Jones and Mattingly 1990: 23-28). Excavations in Sandy have proven that the road towards Baldock was not a fully engineered (Roman) route until the later first century (Dawson 1995: 171), and it may have had less military or strategic significance than either Ermine Street itself, or of course Watling Street.

The western part of BD does not seem to have been served by engineered roads at all. These communities therefore probably remained dependent on pre-Roman routes, or on riverine transport. It has been noted that in the lower Nene and Welland areas small rural sites had little involvement in regional trade, and that most opted out of the Roman economy, using pre-existing trade routes (Condrón 1995: 116). This may also have been the case in BD. Therefore, while in the LIA period much of MK was disadvantaged by lack of good river transport and of north-south routes, the position reversed in the ERB period, when MK was better supplied with good roads, and BD remained largely reliant on pre-Roman land routes and the network of rivers. However, these flow predominantly east-west, and, in spite of beneficial contacts with

the Fens, it is contact with the south which was more likely to bring in new types of behaviour and material culture. Thus, while MK became more closely integrated into the Roman world, BD lagged behind, although it may have had a greater degree of autonomy.

8.4.3 Land use

In spite of the overall similarity of the study area as a whole, there was of course some variation in environmental conditions and resources, which would have imposed restraints on, or provided opportunities for, the local economy. Fincham's study of the Fens (7.9.3) amply demonstrates the social and economic consequences dependent on the landscape, its limitations and benefits.

Factors which might give rise to a diverse economy, particularly in BD, are fluctuations in water levels resulting in flooding, which also occurred in the lower Ouse valley and the Fens. Land which had been cultivated in the LIA was becoming alluviated and waterlogged by the second century AD. Examples are the settlements at Warren Villas on the Ivel, and Clapham and Wyboston on the Ouse (Dawson 2000c: 114). While these were gradual landscape changes, short-term and seasonal flooding is also known to have taken place, for example, at Roxton (Taylor and Woodward 1983), and at Norse Road, Bedford. Here there was very little occupation evidence and excavation suggests a system of droveways and enclosures, used in summer for grazing, while the population lived on higher ground in the vicinity, and practised transhumance. The site is described as a 'ranch', concentrating on cattle-rearing (Edgeworth 2001: 17).

There are further hints that some parts of BD may have had a pastoral economy. The farmstead at Odell was interpreted as a site specialising in rearing and training horses, due to finds of large numbers of horse remains, together with a system of drove-ways and associated enclosures. The fact that the area was sparsely settled was used to support the suggestion that large areas of open land were needed for pasture and horse training. Possibly some of the land in the vicinity of Odell could have had communal access, with grazing and arable rights (Dix 1981: 22-25).

Further south, on the boundary between MK and BD, a very extensive field system, of over 50 ha, has been excavated in recent years at Broughton/Salford. There is some associated settlement of IA and RB date, but the site consists mainly of enclosures and trackways, and may have been used for stock-rearing (Luke *et al* 2003: 5). In addition, a riverside site at Eaton Socon, Cambridgeshire, on the boundaries of BD, appears to have been a rural settlement specialising in rearing cattle, sheep and horses. The latter appear to have been used as food, itself unusual in Roman Britain (5.3.2), but also as draught animals and for riding (Gibson 2005: 32).

There is growing evidence of viticulture in this part of Roman Britain. Possible vine trenches have been found in adjacent areas, Stoke Hammond in Buckinghamshire (Moore *et al* 2007: 39) and just to the northeast of the study area, at St Neots (Poppy *et al* 2006: 192). Vineyards have been excavated in the Nene Valley at Wollaston and may have existed at nearby Grendon, and at Stanton Low in the study area itself (Brown *et al* 2001: 756). More recently, features resembling vine bedding trenches have been excavated in BD, at Cranfield and between Kempston Church End and Marsh Leys (Fitzpatrick 2006: 411). So, while viticulture was apparently practised in both MK and BD, pastoralism may have been relatively common in BD only.

8.4.4 Conclusions

While physical factors are insufficient to explain the divide between MK and BD, they will have had some influence. The lack of permanence in some riverside locations, due to periodic flooding, together with the seasonality of some occupations (iron production and associated charcoal burning, and transhumance, as at Norse Road) would have discouraged investment in architectural display. The possibility that some at least of the BD area practised animal husbandry rather than arable farming could imply a pastoral rather than arable outlook, which may not have been compatible with all aspects of a Roman lifestyle, and could partially account for the lack of villas in the area (Roymans 1995: 47-64). As yet, there is little to indicate that the economy of MK in general was based on anything other than mixed agriculture, apart from the possibility of viticulture, but future excavations will no doubt illuminate this.

The evidence for BD suggests that in the RB period, it may have been less well-connected with the south than was MK. While less mobility can limit cultural change and the flow of ideas and material culture (2.6.4), the perception of BD as culturally conservative does not fit well with the practice of vine-growing, which can be seen as a measure of Roman culture. It cannot of course be proven that the wines produced were actually consumed locally. However, whether or not this was the case, local people were acting pragmatically and adopting viticulture as an economic opportunity. Perhaps communities and individuals chose to adopt some parts of the cultural package, but not others, depending on how they constructed their identities.

8.5 Interpreting the evidence: the LIA period

8.5.1 Introduction

I have accepted the view that the ‘conquest’ of Britain did not occur in AD 43, and that some peoples in Britain had already had considerable contact before that time. The extent and nature of this relationship is however disputed; it has been seen as based more on imperial repression and interference (Mattingly 2006), or on friendship between client kings and Rome (Creighton 2006) (2.5). This section examines the study area in the light of these political considerations.

8.5.2 Early contacts

The core-periphery model for cultural change in LIA Britain saw the adoption of new material culture in the Thames estuary and south coast, whence it spread further north and west. There is, for example, evidence of trade between Britain and Armorica at Hengistbury Head by around 100 BC (Cunliffe 2004: 4). In opposition to this model, it has now been suggested that the first communities in southern Britain to establish links with France (albeit north-east rather than north-west) were those in south Bedfordshire, south Cambridgeshire and north-west Essex, and in west Sussex and east Hampshire. This is based largely on the early coinage, Gallo-Belgic A and B, in use from around 175 BC, found in those areas. Between the later second century and the early first century BC, the 'centre of gravity' moved south from Bedfordshire into Hertfordshire and southern Essex, as indicated by increasing settlement sites, local coin issuing, and exotic imports, particularly high status ceramics (Hill 2007: 24-26).

These vessels may have been brought in because the new assemblages were needed in order to take up the new ways of eating and drinking. Their absence elsewhere is possibly due to a lack of desire to adopt this new behaviour, rather than isolation or conservatism (Hill 2007: 27; Hill 2002: 158). Alternatively, it could have been due to deliberate restrictions exerted by the Southern and Eastern Kingdoms on neighbouring territories. For example, the latter may have expanded west into Oxfordshire, controlling access to supplies in that area (Mattingly 2006: 80); as already noted, few such items were found there (7.3.2).

These early influences penetrated the study area, particularly via the Ivel valley from south Bedfordshire, judging by the presence of Gallo-Belgic coins in BD. While most of those in BD appear to have been deposited in LIA contexts, in MK at least two of the four examples were found in RB hoards. As already noted (6.9.2), these early coins are not thought to have been used for exchange, but as symbols and to form new friendships (Hill 2007: 24-25). If this were the case, relationships were being negotiated more frequently with inhabitants of BD, but to a lesser extent in the MK area. It is also notable that there was a focus of British (LX 21/22) coins in Sandy, as in Braughing (Curteis 2001: 72-73), which again emphasises links between BD and the Eastern Kingdom, this time somewhat later in the LIA period.

Further indications of early contact in BD include the presence of drinking and dining assemblages and of imported ceramics (4.5). In addition, the wealthy burials found in the Baldock area also occurred in Bedfordshire (Stanfordbury), but more pertinently, further north in BD itself (Sharnbrook), although this may have been of conquest or just post-conquest date (3.4.2). As at Baldock, pig was used in a number of cremations in BD (and also at Bancroft), suggesting further cultural links between the north-east Chilterns and BD in particular (7.5.4), and additionally, the use of this species in burials may also have had Gallo-Belgic, continental and/or elite associations (5.2.9). Finally, one of the several rectangular buildings found in BD

came from Warren Villas (4.4.2) in the Ivel valley, and the first rectangular buildings appear to have been built in the Braughing area (7.2.2).

Here then we have a possible explanation for the early differences between MK and BD: BD had more connections, both geographical and social, with the powerful and wealthy political focus of the Eastern Kingdom in the north-east Chilterns, and was therefore more influenced by new ways and material culture than was the more distant MK. Even when the focus of power shifted again, to the new foundation of *Verlamion* around 20 BC (Hill 2007: 32), these long-established links between BD and the Baldock/Braughing area were maintained.

Towards the end of the LIA, the power of the early settlements began to wane, while the influence of *Verlamion* grew, possibly extending towards the MK area as the Eastern Kingdom expanded. The proliferation of later IA coins in the MK area (unlike BD) (6.9.2) might indicate the increasing contact and attempts at establishing and consolidating relationships as the LIA progressed. The fact that such ‘gifts’ did not extend beyond coins might account for the lack of early uptake of new fashions in material culture and behaviour in MK.

8.5.3 Conclusions

Although the core: periphery model (that lands nearest to the core are more affected by it) has largely been abandoned (2.2.1), there may still have been an element of truth within it (Mattingly 2006: 56-57). The scenario outlined above undoubtedly sees BD as benefiting from close contact with the first centres of the Eastern Kingdom in south Bedfordshire. These links were maintained when the elite focus moved south to the north-east Chilterns. Even when power shifted once more, this time to *Verlamion*, BD remained in close contact with Baldock and other nearby settlements, still important centres. In MK there had been less contact with the early seats of power, constrained partly by distance and lack of communications. However, with the possible extension of the Eastern Kingdom, and the incipient growth of *Verlamion* into *Verulamium*, the area was both better placed, and perhaps more inclined than it had been earlier, to take up the new material culture and behaviour which would become more accessible after the conquest.

8.6 Interpreting the evidence: the RB period

8.6.1 Introduction

This section examines a key factor, the extent and effect of rule from local urban centres, which may have produced different developmental trajectories in MK and BD, and sets the scene for the scenarios to be explored in 8.7.

8.6.2 The influence of towns

It is possible that much of the Welland, Ouse and Nene valleys lay beyond core territory placed under *civitas* control, and may have been under state or military administration instead (Mattingly 2006: Fig 10). *Verulamium*, at first a *civitas* capital, and later, possibly in the Flavian period, a *municipium*, might have been expected to have had legal powers over some of this rural territory. However, although the town developed into a major settlement in the RB period, it does not seem to have been typically Roman in its early phase (Mattingly 2006: 355, 278). As a result it would not necessarily have had ‘normal’ *civitas* powers over land far beyond its immediate vicinity.

If this were the case, and the main focus in early *Verulamium* was its religious centre which commemorated an early king or ruler, then it is possible that the town exerted less control over the surrounding territory, particularly the more distant Middle and Upper Ouse Valley, than might be expected. This does not mean however that the Middle and Upper Ouse Valley remained outside the hinterland of *Verulamium*. The MK area, bisected by Watling Street, would still have been affected by contact with the growing towns of *Verulamium*, and with *Londinium*, to a greater extent than BD, as confirmed, for example, by the greater evidence in MK of literacy and Roman influence in religion.

Yet the construction of Watling Street does not appear to have resulted in a great deal of trade, at least in ceramics, either in the south with the *Verulamium* potteries of the later first century AD, or, later, with those of Mancetter to the north (6.11). In fact, MK appears to have developed most ceramic links with the West and Oxfordshire by the second or third century, although it also received products from the Nene Valley. This is reflected in the circulation of soft pink grog ware in the later RB period, which focuses on MK and areas to the north and west – but is found sparsely if at all in BD. As noted in 6.11.5, a similar pattern – a ‘fault-line’ between west and east Northamptonshire – seems also to be visible between MK and BD. Major east-west routes in the county were absent, as in the study area. There was a dense network of roads and towns in the lower Nene and Welland valleys, while in the south-west of Northamptonshire, there was another group in the Upper Nene, Tove and Cherwell area, oriented towards Oxfordshire (Taylor *et al* 2002a: 16), part of which overlaps with the MK case study area.

The argument could be further developed to suggest that the MK area from the conquest period onwards was as much affected by developments focussed on Alchester as it was by Watling Street. The fortress at Alchester is now thought to have been founded in AD 43 (Sauer 2005b: 118). It lay at the centre of a network of north-south, and east-west communications, in a highly militarised area, and would thus have been involved in the conquest itself, as well as the Boudican rebellion (Mattingly 2006: 141-142, 110).

It has already been noted that the growth of *Lactodurum* may have been due in part to developments at Alchester, and/or to the presence of villas in its vicinity. Conversely, the villas may have developed because *Lactodurum* had administrative powers over the area, possibly involving land organisation (7.8.2). The fact that *Lactodurum* is now known to have grown between the Flavian period and the mid-second century (Taylor *et al* 2002a: 20) ties in well with the period of developing villa landscape in the lands nearby, including MK.

The most obvious difference between the two case study areas is that from the later first to early second century onwards, there was an increase in the number of settlement sites, stone buildings, architectural elaboration, and villas in MK. Moreover, this structural evidence, together with a number of very wealthy burials, suggests a more stratified society than in BD. It is possible that further development was associated with the reordering of the landscape which may have taken place in Oxfordshire, in around AD 130: some rural establishments ended, but many more were newly founded, possibly due to political intervention (7.9.3). The fact that ceramic trade in MK appears to have been orientated more with Oxfordshire than elsewhere from about this time supports this suggestion (6.11.5).

It has been suggested that the increase in second century sites in MK was due to ‘regularisation of land ownership, according to Roman rule and customs’, and the ‘increasing affluence of a population settling down to Roman rule’ (Zeepvat 1987a: 9). However, this assumption can be challenged on several counts. First, it suggests that a standardised Roman system of land tenure was imposed on all native people, regardless of their reaction to Rome or resources available in their territory. Second, the evidence suggests that while some of the population of MK became very affluent, for the majority life continued at a much more basic level, judging by the number of sites with little or no architectural elaboration (6.3.2). Third, it does not allow for the possibility of newcomers taking over land in MK, a point which is pursued in 8.7.4.

Meanwhile, a number of reasons for the apparent conservatism in BD, after its progressiveness in the LIA, can be proposed, based, first, on the political situation at the time of the conquest. As already suggested, BD had close links with the early centres of power in the north-east Chilterns. However, as *Verlamion* developed into the Roman town of *Verulamium*, the town’s ties with the north-east Chilterns would gradually have weakened, and this could have indirectly discouraged the uptake of new material culture and behaviour in that area, but also in BD.

The second reason may be that BD maintained its early links with Cambridgeshire and the Fens, as well as the Baldock area. These strengthened throughout the RB period, as suggested by the later RB pottery circulation patterns, which indicate that BD, unlike MK, received far more ceramics from the Nene Valley than from Oxfordshire (6.11.4). This may not have been solely due to proximity, but to general cultural continuities, for example, with the North, persistence of

crouched inhumation, and with the East, sand-tempered pottery, stone grave furnishings, and the lack of architectural elaboration (7.2.3). Furthermore, there is less evidence of literacy, Roman religion, and ritual deposition of metal goods in both BD and the East.

As with MK, a key factor in determining the developmental trajectory in BD was the different system of administration which may have evolved. MK may have fallen into the orbit of nearby *Lactodurum*, with its links to Alchester and the west, but neither of the small towns within BD appears, on current evidence, to have had an administrative role. It too may have been ruled from a town beyond its confines. It seems unlikely that this was in the south, for the early links with the Baldock area appear to have been more related to shared ritual, religious, or burial practice, than to any relationship based on administration or power. The other candidates, purely in terms of propinquity, would be Irchester or *Durovigutum*. Bearing in mind the continuities shown between BD and the north-east, the latter appears more likely, and this is discussed further in 8.9.3. Distant government, together with relatively poor communications, could have been a disincentive to development, and perhaps also have led to a greater degree of autonomy.

8.7 Scenarios

8.7.1 Introduction

A number of different factors could account for the divergence seen between MK and BD in the RB period:

- 1 People in the study area responded differently to Rome.
- 2 People in the study area received different treatment under Rome.
- 3 There were more incomers, and resulting changes in land-holding and communications, in MK than in BD.

These scenarios, which will be considered in turn, are not alternatives, but are incremental, and build upon each other.

8.7.2 Scenario One

Scenario One considers solely the reception of local people to the material benefits brought by Rome. It is likely that they did respond differently, depending on pre-existing identities. Thus, just as the Fen Islands continued to display status via portable wealth rather than architecture (7.9.3), the inhabitants of BD chose to adopt less of the Roman cultural package than did MK, in spite of the fact that BD as a whole seemed more disposed to adopt new traditions in the LIA. Possibly people in BD displayed wealth in an archaeologically invisible manner, for example, using architectural elaboration of wood rather than tile. On present evidence, it seems unlikely

that occupants of BD invested in metal portable items, and perhaps they did so in livestock instead.

The fact that BD was relatively disadvantaged in terms of communications in the RB period, in comparison to MK (8.4.2), should be taken into account. Nevertheless, the likelihood that the divergence between the two case study areas could be attributed solely to a combination of different reactions to the Roman way of life, and variability in communications, is not great, for it ignores the agency of outsiders, whether official or otherwise. This scenario is therefore rejected as being too simplistic.

8.7.3 Scenario Two

Scenario Two proposes that, in addition to factors mentioned in Scenario One, people in the study area received different treatment from Rome. The treatment received by conquered peoples varied according to, first, the Roman perception of their loyalty to the state, and, second, how Rome exploited their territories. Thus land may have been reassigned to ‘deserving’ native groups, apportioned to ex-military colonists, taken over as imperial estates, or attached to *coloniae*, *municipia* and *civitas* centres. These allocations were not necessarily static and would have changed over time, for example, with the advent of civil rather than military administration, or the use of new resources. But, however Rome redistributed or exploited conquered territory, it would have entailed the extraction of revenue, whether direct or indirect (Mattingly 2006: 361-363; 353-355).

Parallels which disclose possible different treatments from Rome come from, first, the lands of the *Trinovantes*, where there were several military installations including a legionary fortress at *Camulodunum*, in contrast to the *Catuvellauni* territory further west, including the study area, where much less military supervision appears to have been considered necessary. Second, and further afield, is the difference seen in Kent and Sussex, where, both to the north and south of the Weald, there were large numbers of villas, particularly early and elaborate in the case of Sussex. Meanwhile the Weald itself had virtually no villas (Mattingly 2006: 137-138; 386-387). It may have been organised differently, perhaps in order to exploit iron and timber resources. Developmental trajectories which may have applied to the comparative areas of the West and East have already been discussed (7.9.3). In the case of Oxfordshire, differential development may have been the result of ‘rewards’ or ‘punishment’ by Rome. In the case of the Fens, differences appear to have been more dependent on the resources available, and how Rome chose to exploit them.

Based on these examples, it is possible to suggest that MK may have been subjected to rewards and punishments by Rome. The MK area is likely to have been affected to some extent by unrest at the time of the conquest, as well as during the Boudican rebellion, if only because of

the proximity of supply routes along Watling Street and the Alchester road. However, the only possible evidence of repressive controls in the study area is the (putative) fort at *Magiovinium*, which could have been occupied until the Flavian period in reprisals against local support for the rebellion (Zeepvat 1987a: 9). The ‘massacre’, if such it was, at Paulerspury in MK (6.6.2) could conceivably also have been connected with such events.

Whether or not there had been opposition to Rome, the imperial powers would have been involved in land re-allocation. Territory may have been returned to the local elite, perhaps in recognition of ‘good behaviour’. Alternatively, hostility to Rome may have led to confiscation of lands and to the break up of existing landholding patterns (Mattingly 2006: 353-354). The hierarchical villa-dominated landscape, and the new sites which came into being in the earlier second century in MK, could have been the eventual consequence.

Meanwhile, perhaps BD was treated differently, because the area was less hostile to empire, but equally because of the different resources available. Existing land-owners may have been permitted to retain their holdings in return for commodities required by the state, such as wine, horses, meat and other animal products, and iron. Payment of tribute in kind could account for the relative lack of Roman coinage in BD, in comparison to MK, where perhaps monetary taxes were imposed.

Iron was possibly one of the most important resources in BD, particularly in the north-west, where independent groups of iron workers, perhaps family-based, may have been involved in production. They would have been able to adhere to their own traditions, but at the same time articulate with Roman systems, perhaps via marketing the iron, but certainly via paying tribute of some sort. The fact that there is little evidence for settlement suggests some seasonal activity, and that the industry was on a smaller scale to that practised further north in the East Midlands. However, there are also some hints that one or two of the sites may have been of relatively high status, possibly the home of one of the local organisers of the trade (6.12.2). Otherwise, it seems that any wealth created by the iron production industry, at a time of increasing production (Schrüfer-Kolb 2004: 60), and therefore presumably profit, may have been sent/spent outside the study area, possibly hinting here as before at the links to Irchester, *Durovigutum* or even *Durobrivae*.

While MK may have been more directly affected by political or military factors, resulting in a more ‘Roman’ economy, with villas at the top of the hierarchy, the result in BD may have been a ‘mosaic pattern of landholdings’ (Mattingly 2006: 355), based on a variety of relationships with Rome, in which individuals and individual communities played out varying roles. As already noted (7.9.4), although some villa and imperial estates may have existed in Roman Britain, the idea that there was an standard model of landholding is no longer credible. It is

more likely that there was a variety of landholders, and that the lack of villas in some locations could indicate that there was less emphasis on private or imperial estates, and more on communal access to land and other resources (Mattingly 2006: 355). This would fit well with the possibility that many communities in BD retained and worked their own lands, in return for paying tribute.

A different example of landholding comes from Kempston, possibly founded by an elite group to house retired soldiers or labourers (4.3.4). If the latter, whether they were free or enslaved, and the work which they undertook, has yet to be determined. Slaves are not thought to have worked the iron in the East Midlands (Schrüfer-Kolb 2004: 108), but this would not rule out their presence at Kempston. However, there is little evidence of iron-working at the town itself (Dawson 2004: 388) – or indeed of any industrial activity. This does not preclude the fact that some archaeologically invisible activity was taking place here, organised either by the state, or by local elite.

Scenario Two might therefore account in part for the divergence seen between MK and BD, and allow for different treatment of the two areas by the imperial powers. However, it does not account for less evidence of site hierarchy, and of new traditions of material culture, religion, or literacy, in BD. Neither does it consider whether it was solely local people who were present. Scenario Three builds upon this hypothesis, and attempts to confront these issues.

8.7.4 Scenario Three

This extends Scenario Two to incorporate the possibility that incomers were involved in the changes in the RB period. It has already been stated that land will have been redistributed by Rome after the conquest, and that this could have been to a variety of newcomers, not necessarily native Britons. Some of the new sites seen in MK from the end of the first century may have been established on confiscated land granted to outsiders, military or civilian, who were more familiar with the Roman lifestyle, and will have further encouraged the spread of new material culture and ideas. The effects were felt particularly in the realms of architecture, epigraphy, Roman style religion and the use of Roman coinage. Such items were much less visible in BD, although a number of exotic finds come from Sandy (Table 6.33). The only other hint of outsiders from BD is the apparently *de novo* foundation of Kempston (8.7.3).

However, there are definite indications that some sites in MK continued to be occupied by their original inhabitants. The wealthy RB sites at Stanton Low and Bancroft were already of high status in the LIA, suggesting that their inhabitants were indigenous. This also appears to have applied to nearby Piddington, in the North (7.3.2). It has been pointed out that although early villas are interpreted as indicating local elite, adopting Roman customs, they could equally represent newcomers to the area (Mattingly 2006: 382-383). Thus, while Gorhambury and Park

Street are thought to be in the first category, other early examples might represent confiscated and reallocated property. However, the fact that Bancroft maintained similar ritual practices throughout (for example, use of animals in burial (5.2.9)), supports the continuity of native occupation, for symbolic behaviour was less susceptible to change than was the more overt type involving display of material culture (8.3.3). Perhaps these are examples of native elite who had appeased rather than antagonised Rome.

Meanwhile, in BD, Rome was able to exploit the territory by permitting local people to maintain their lands and livelihoods, while still extracting tribute in some form. Less hostility from the inhabitants resulted in less confiscation of land than in MK, and therefore less land for the state to rent or sell to incomers. The consequence was that there is little if any indication of incomers, with the possible exception of Kempston, and that it is likely that the population was predominantly indigenous, and suggested by the evidence of unchanging identities. The result was the relative dearth of the defining features of a Roman lifestyle in BD.

8.7.5 Conclusions

Scenario Three appears to be the most credible, for it takes into account different reactions to Rome and different treatment from Rome, together with the possibility that such treatment involved the advent of outsiders from further afield. The latter in particular had more effect in MK, with resulting greater changes in identities.

Broadly, it seems that BD, for whatever reasons, had less engagement with Rome, and did not take advantage of the ‘opportunities’ it brought. Instead, life as a whole continued at a modest level, and there were few if any examples of high status sites. There was little change in settlement patterns and it is likely that traditional communication routes remained important. Rome was able to exploit the area and raise tribute from it in ways other than via a ‘normal’ villa economy, possibly indirectly via pre-existing systems which made little use of a cash economy. Meanwhile MK developed a hierarchy of sites including a number of villas, although whether this structure was imposed on the area by Rome, or was the choice of a local elite able to exploit the new system, is unclear. It is possible that the rapid increase in sites in MK in the second century or earlier, together with new material culture and ideas, resulted from an influx of newcomers to the area. MK took advantage of the opportunities of empire, including improvements in communications, and played along with the new religions to prove acceptance of Rome, while still maintaining a few traditional ritual practices. Thus Rome exploited both MK and BD, but this did not prevent the negotiation of varying identities in either case study area.

It therefore appears at first glance that while BD was ‘resistant’, MK could be described as ‘opportunistic’ (2.5.3). However, on further consideration, this interpretation could equally well

be inverted, to state that BD was opportunistic, in that it did not choose to buy fully into the Roman system, and was selective in what it did adopt, even if that entailed little uptake of the apparent advantages of the Roman way of life. Meanwhile, in MK, where a more hierarchical landscape had been imposed, this was no doubt an opportunity for enterprising incomers or favoured elite, but this was unlikely to have applied equally to the great majority of lower status. However, these are broad generalisations: the recipients of privileges and penalties would have varied over time and space (Mattingly 2006: 16), and the position could never have been a static one.

8.8 Overall conclusions

It is instructive at this point to look back to Chapter 1, and perceptions of the study area as viewed over the last century or so. Haverfield saw the west of Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire as an uncivilised and sparsely inhabited land, at least in comparison to territory further east (Haverfield 1902: 165-166). By 1985, and with additional knowledge from random finds and early excavations, Branigan saw the *Catuvellauni* lands as densely populated, and was able to divide the ‘canton’ up into separate administrative areas under a number of *vici*, noting that *Lactodurum*, rather than *Magiovinium*, held sway over south Northamptonshire and North Buckinghamshire. Sandy, like Baldock, was merely a ‘successful village’ (Branigan 1985: 114). He also highlighted the different types of landholding – tenurial arrangements – which may have existed, and the complexity of these relationships. If his work on the *Catuvellauni* is viewed simply as a regional survey, with no connotations of population groupings, it had much in common with the conclusions of my research.

This thesis has examined a wide range of variables. While regional differences in some of the topics analysed are minimal, taken together they suggest considerable diversity within the study area, and divergence between MK and BD, particularly in the RB period. This regional variation has therefore contributed to the breakdown of the monolithic image of this part of Britain (2.3.3). It demonstrates that, on a small and local scale, different communities and individuals may have received different imperial treatment, resulting in different developmental trajectories. Furthermore, by considering a wide variety of sites, material culture and behaviours, rather than focussing on the elite, this research has also given a voice to those of lower status.

8.9 Future work

8.9.1 Introduction

During the course of this research, it became clear that further detailed and contextual analysis could illuminate identity change or continuity in the study area. Better use could be made of the

specialist reports already available: hopefully, more of these will be available in the future. However, such reports could yield much more valuable information if they were integrated with stratigraphic data, and, in the case of coinage, particularly with ceramic data (Cool 2006: 244-245; Lockyear 2007: 221).

In order to draw out the main trends and to view patterns in the study area, site types and dating have been generalised to some extent. Diversity *within* sites, perhaps representing different social or religious identities, has not been examined to any extent. The use of the more refined dating often available in reports could enable closer comparison between sites, and the type of material culture or burial rite present there. More use could be made of the context in which particular types of ceramics were found, domestic, burial or ritual.

Most of the topics covered in these chapters could be investigated in much greater depth and detail. However, because this thesis has examined a multiplicity of themes, raising the prospect of many further avenues of research, it is not possible to discuss all of them here. Instead, the focus below is on particular topics which could perhaps throw more light on divergent identities within the study area, and their possible causes.

8.9.2 Communications

Road and river transport networks are important topics which need more research, especially in the light of recent interest in their significance to Roman imperialism, and the ‘creation of new geographies of power’ (Taylor and Flitcroft 2004: 73; Taylor 2000a: 25). For example, the examination of river crossing points – bridges and fords – for both LIA and RB might indicate whether there had been any change between routes and settlement layout during the transitional period. The apparent lack of Roman engineered roads in BD, as opposed to MK, which has been identified in this work, could be further investigated by close examination of recent PPG16 work in BD. This could update the survey of the Viatores’ routes which Simco undertook in 1984, now nearly 25 years ago.

8.9.3 Administration

Better knowledge of transport routes could also further research into the nature of the iron production sites in the study area, and indicate how, and from where, the trade was organised. It was tentatively suggested above (8.6.2; 8.7.3) that administration as well as control of the iron industry could have been conducted from outside the area, possibly at Irchester, *Durovigutum*, or even *Durobrivae*. Sources for these towns (for example, Jones 2003; Taylor 2000b) could be searched for possible links to the study area. Nene Valley wares, if in limited quantities, are known to have reached the study area (6.11.4), and it would be interesting to examine the extent of any reciprocal trade, in, for example, Harrold wares.

8.9.4 Coins and votive deposition

More use could be made of the information stored on the PAS database, especially now that Bedfordshire has a Finds Officer and has started to contribute to this resource. Analysis of ritual deposition of Iron Age coins has examined the contexts in which they were found, and how these varied over time, showing, for example, that the LIA use of pits disappeared during the RB period. Votive assemblages commonly contained, apart from IA coins, metal brooches, human bone, toilet articles, and weaponry, and frequently metal-working debris. In addition analysis of images on coins suggests that there may have been a relationship between the animals portrayed and those offered at religious sites. Thus sites with coin symbolism showing pigs were often those where that species was under-represented (Curteis 2005: 208-212, 223).

Coin loss in Roman Britain varied according to location, in that military and official sites, and large settlements such as London, used predominantly Roman coinage in the immediate post-conquest period, whereas indigenous sites such as *Verulamium* retained local IA coinage much longer. The latter was also more likely to be used as votives than were Roman coins, suggesting conservatism in religious practice (Haselgrove 2006: 110-111). As already noted (4.7.3), more detailed analysis of both IA and Roman coin deposition and distribution in the study area could yield a great deal of valuable information.

8.9.5 Plant and animal remains

The use of animal remains in burial rites, ritual deposits, and as religious offerings has been discussed in this research. However, the subject of animals as food has been scarcely touched upon. A great deal of work has been undertaken on this, and on other aspects of the deposition of faunal remains from the Roman period, by King, focussing on British, European and empire-wide sites (eg King 1988; 1999, 2001). Regional inter-site comparisons show that in Britain sheep was the most popular meat in the LIA, changing to beef and pork in the Roman period. Urban, military and legionary sites led the way, and rural settlements were slower to adopt this pattern, which also pertained in Gaul and Germany (King 2001: 219). Other work on faunal remains includes that of Grant, who considered developments in animal husbandry, and their use in agricultural work, and for secondary products such as wool (Grant 2004).

The study of plant remains appears to have been poorly served by PPG16 legislation, which does not require their full analysis. Nevertheless, there is sufficient data to yield a great deal of information on the plants grown in, and imported into, Roman Britain. For example, at least 50 new foods (mainly of vegetable origin), were introduced during the period. Regional variations in agricultural production can also be observed. However, information from small rural sites is under-represented. In addition it is necessary to find evidence from LIA sites, which will indicate when crops were first cultivated (van der Veen *et al* 2007: 202, 181, 207).

If botanical and faunal evidence were integrated, these would act as an even richer source of information, particularly where evidence for fish remains were available (Dobney 2001; Locker 2007). They have the potential to indicate which sites had adopted the new dietary traditions, and could thus act as a significant marker of Roman identity. Furthermore, they could also indicate the possibility of newcomers, who may have introduced the new foods to the area.

8.9.6 Concluding comments

More and more sites are now coming to light. In BD, excavation is currently (January 2008) taking place for the Bedford Western Bypass, which runs through Kempston and Biddenham. Investigations for the Great Barford Bypass have found nine new sites, of which three were LIA/RB settlements, none of which produced evidence of stone buildings. One (Birchfield Road) contained a small LRB cemetery with one prone and two decapitated burials; another (High Barns Road) yielded two LIA inhumations (Brown and Timby 2006: 5-6), which extends the number of early inhumations found in BD. The monograph covering these excavations will be published shortly (Timby *et al* in press). The fact that none of the sites apparently produced evidence for stone buildings further supports my findings for BD in general.

Meanwhile, investigations at Broughton Manor Farm, Newport Road, in MK, have revealed a substantial stone-founded structure, together with well-appointed RB cremations, wells and a possible small family shrine or mausoleum. This site is of considerable potential interest because the two cemeteries contained different metal assemblages, suggesting one group belonged to LIA indigenous occupants, while the other, with imported items, represented a group of incomers arriving just after the conquest (Atkins 2007; Crummy 2007). This hypothesis fits well with the suggestion offered in 8.7.4.

This new evidence, for both MK and BD, so far accords with the results of this research. It remains to be seen how future excavations and metal-detection will amend or reinforce my conclusions. However, it is unlikely that any discoveries to come will radically alter the picture of different regional identities, as revealed by diverse archaeological evidence, which have been revealed in this thesis.

Divergent Identities?

**The Middle and Upper Ouse Valley in the Late
Iron Age and Romano-British periods**

Volume Two: Appendices and Bibliography

**Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Leicester**

by

Judy M Meade, BA Hons (Open), MA (Cantab)

School of Archaeology and Ancient History

2008

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Appendix 1 Figures

All figures are shown with north at top of page, unless otherwise stated.

Additional figures are to be found in the text.

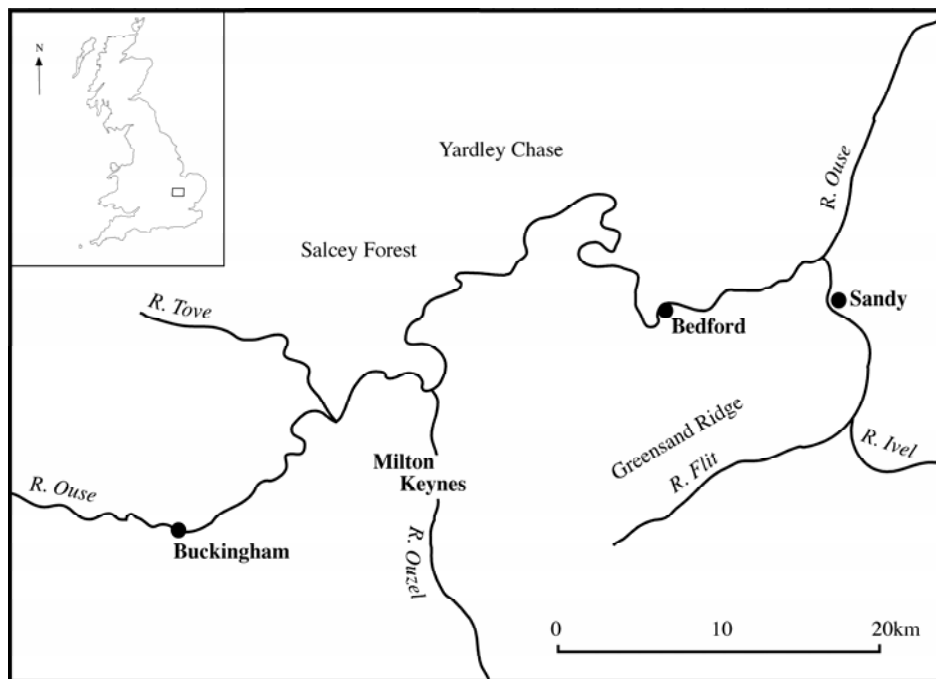


Fig 1.1 The study area and its location in Britain



Fig 2.1 Traditional tribal territories, based partly on coinage distribution
After Salway 1981: Map 2



Fig 2.2 Regional groupings, based on geographical areas, rather than tribal names
After Haselgrove 1987: Fig 4.3

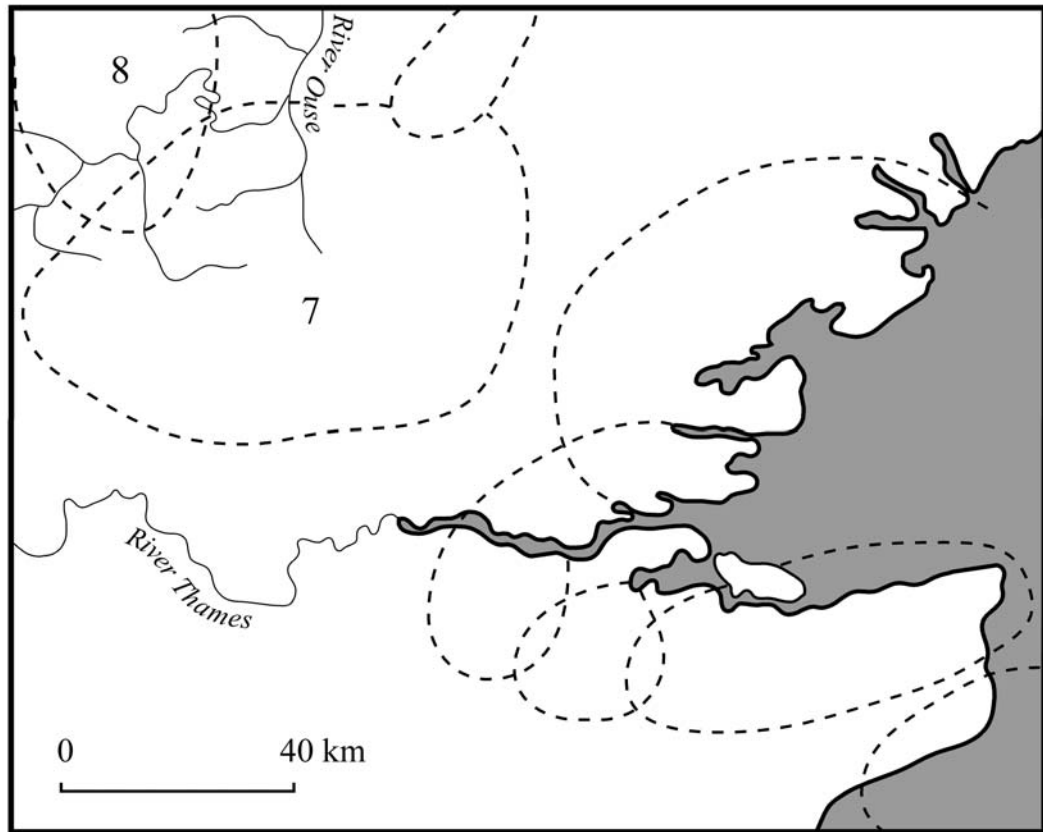


Fig 3.1 Thompson's LIA fabric areas, showing Area 7 (grog tempering) and Area 8 (mixed tempering)

After Thompson 1982: Map 1

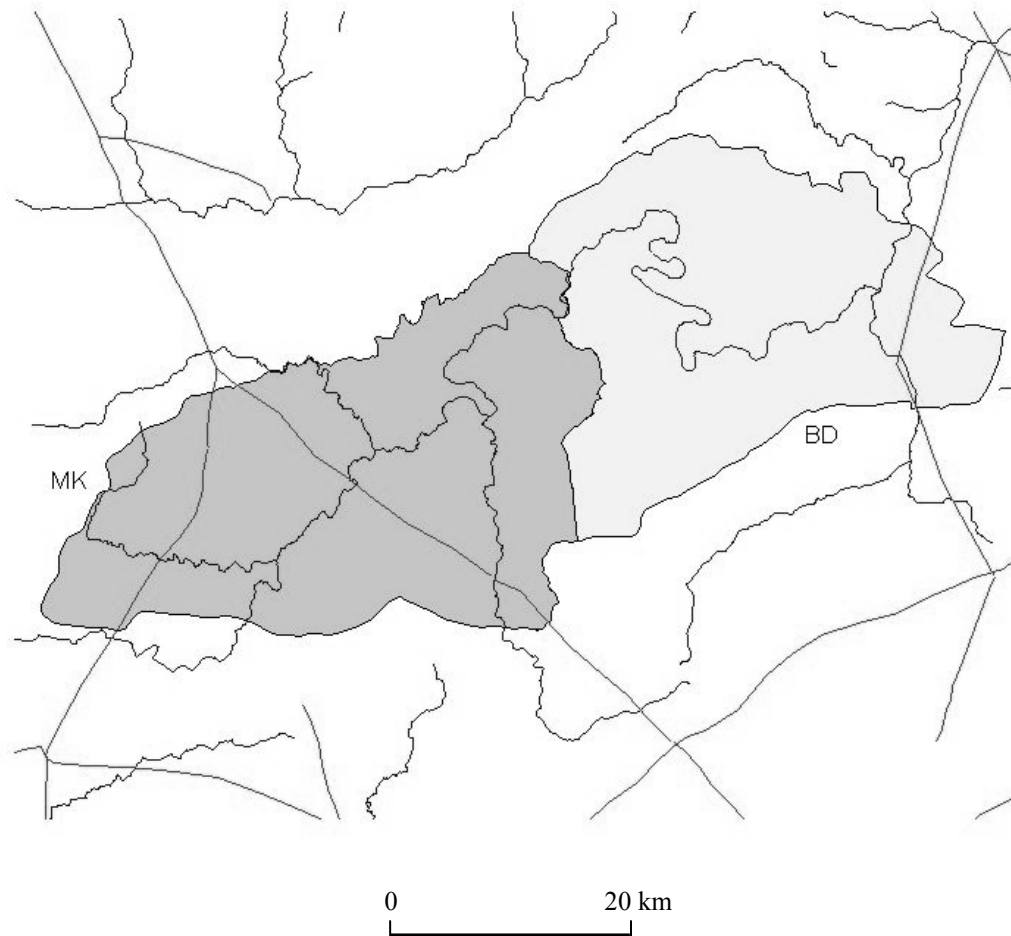


Fig 3.2 Case study areas, Milton Keynes and Bedford

MK Milton Keynes area

BD Bedford area

(the scale shown here applies to all the following GIS maps)

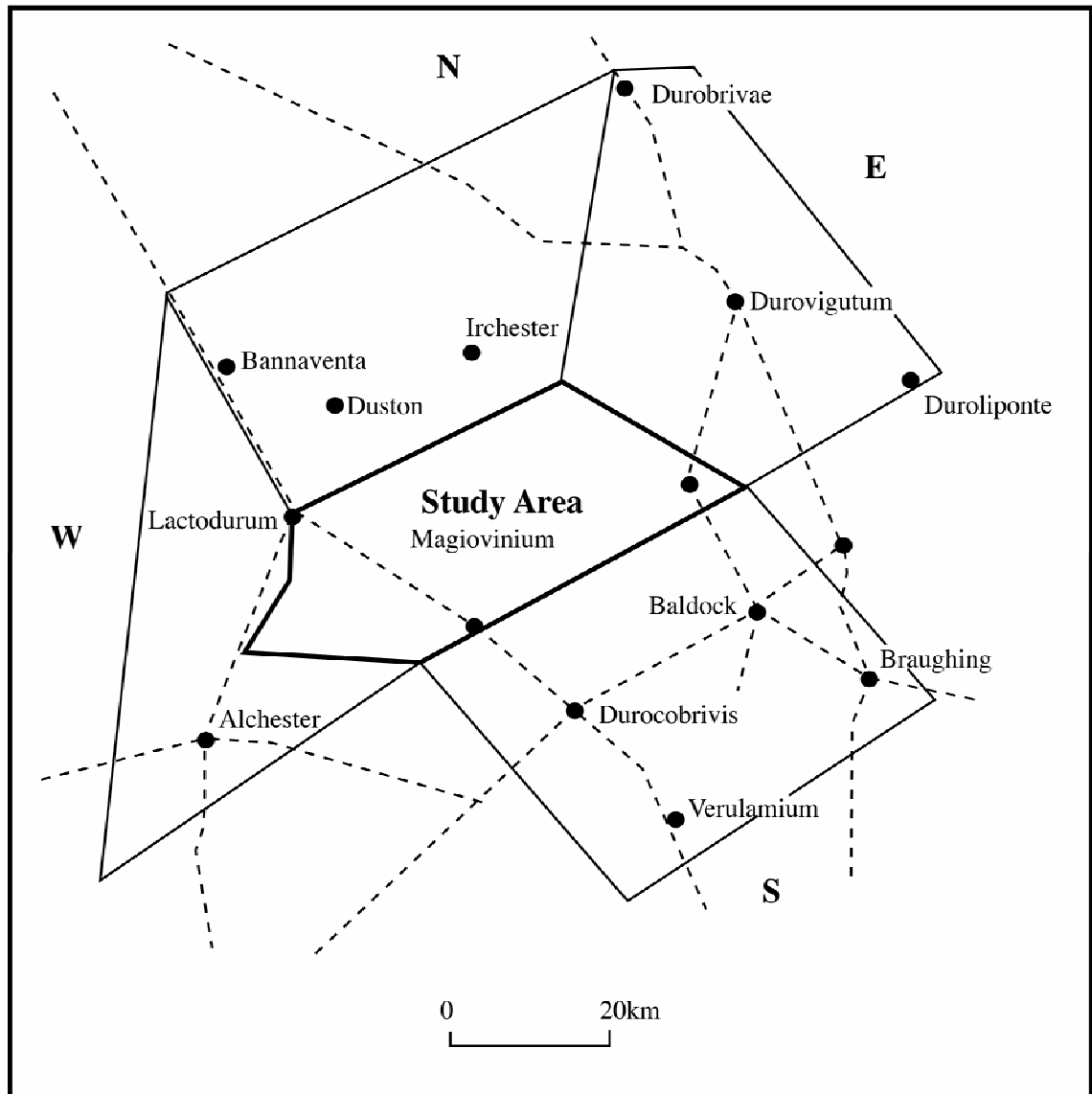


Fig 3.3 Adjacent areas used for comparison with the study area

- N North comparative area
- S South comparative area
- E East comparative area
- W West comparative area
- - - Roman roads

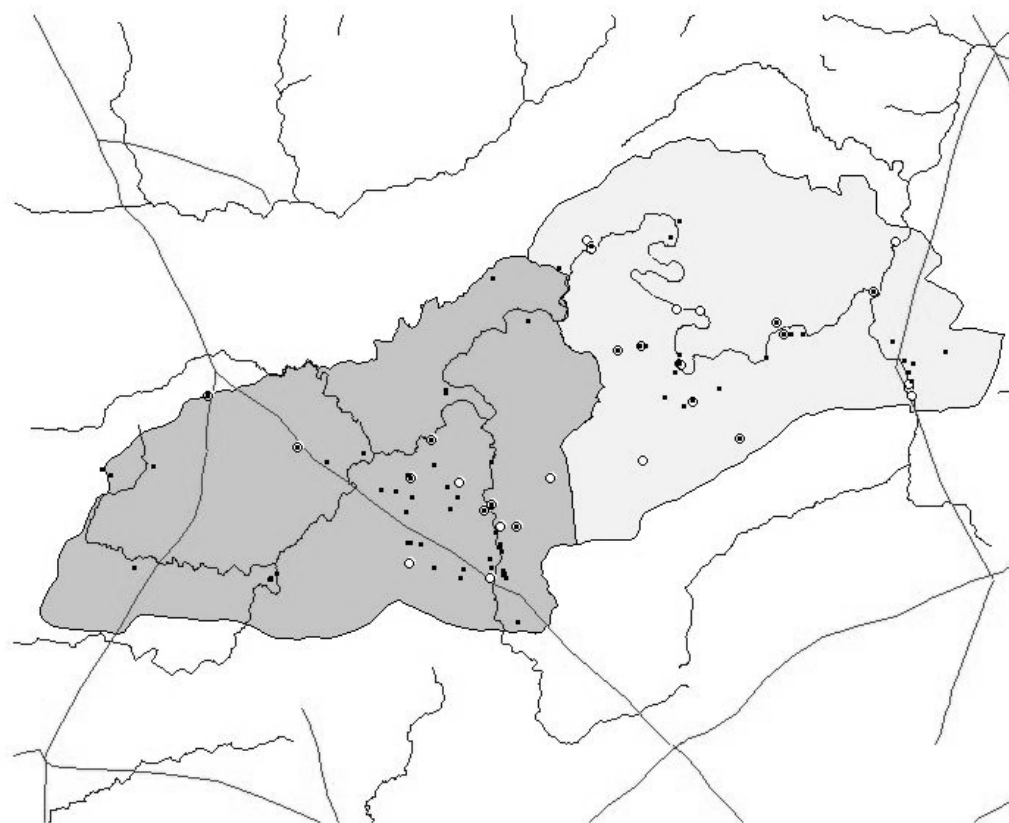


Fig 4.1 All excavated sites

- LIA sites
- RB sites

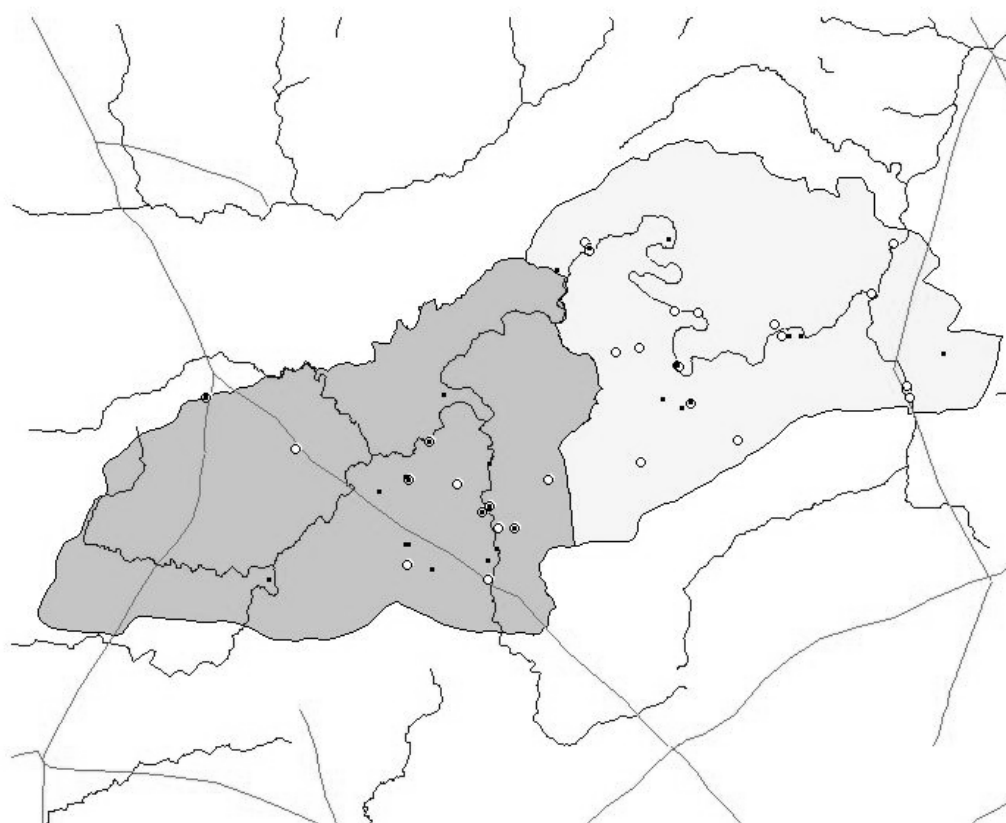


Fig 4.2 LIA and late first century sites

- LIA sites
- 1st century R sites

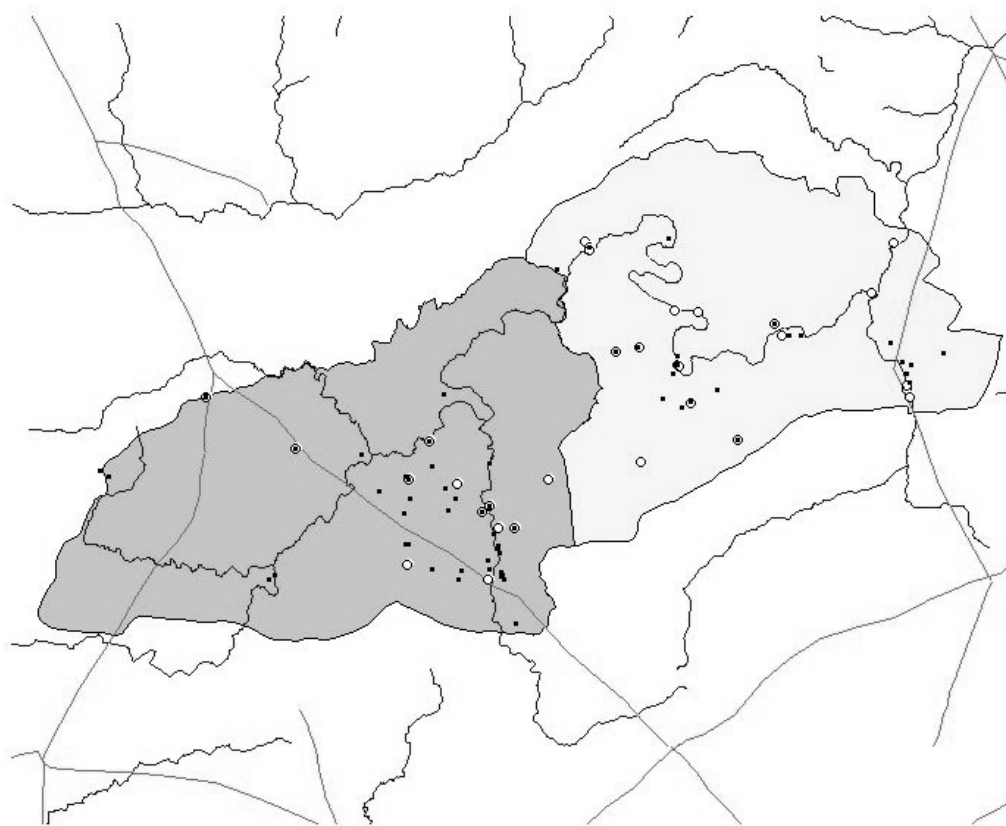


Fig 4.3 LIA, late first and second century sites

- LIA sites
- 1st century R and second century sites

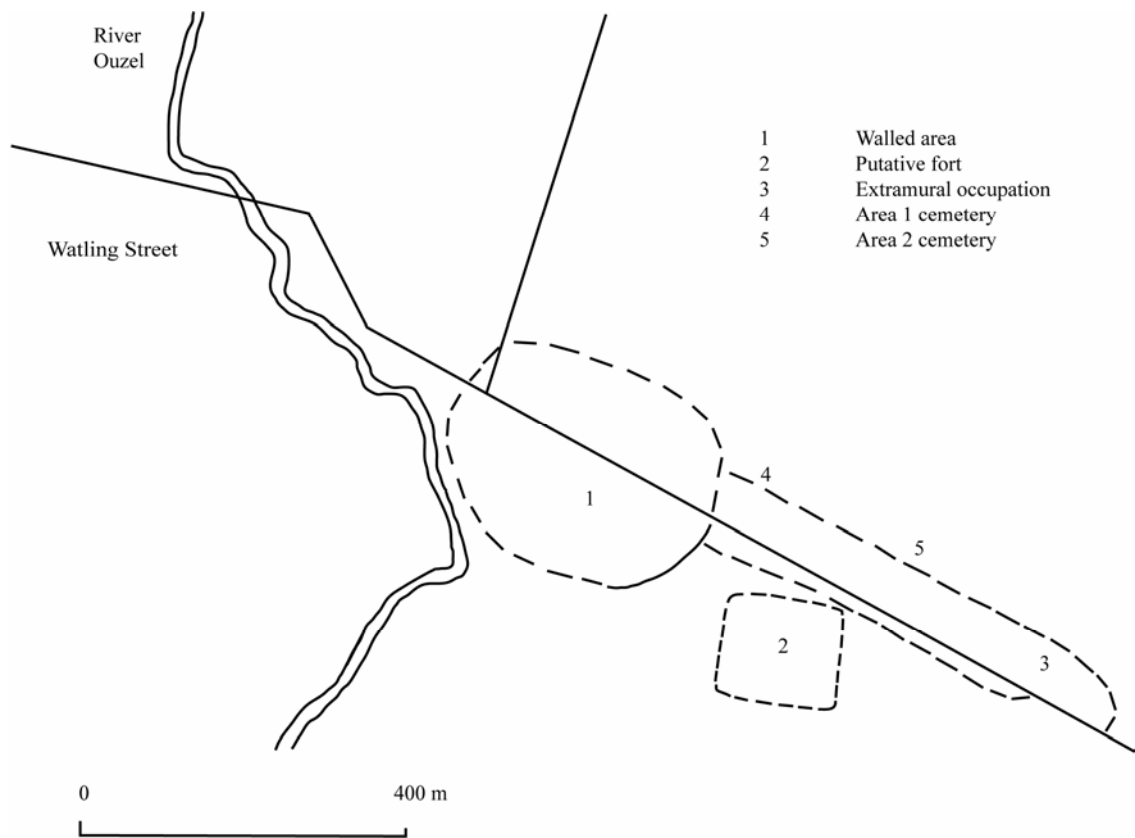


Fig 4.4 *Magiovinium*, showing features discussed in the text

After Zeepvat 1994: Fig 1; Hunn *et al* 1997: Fig 1

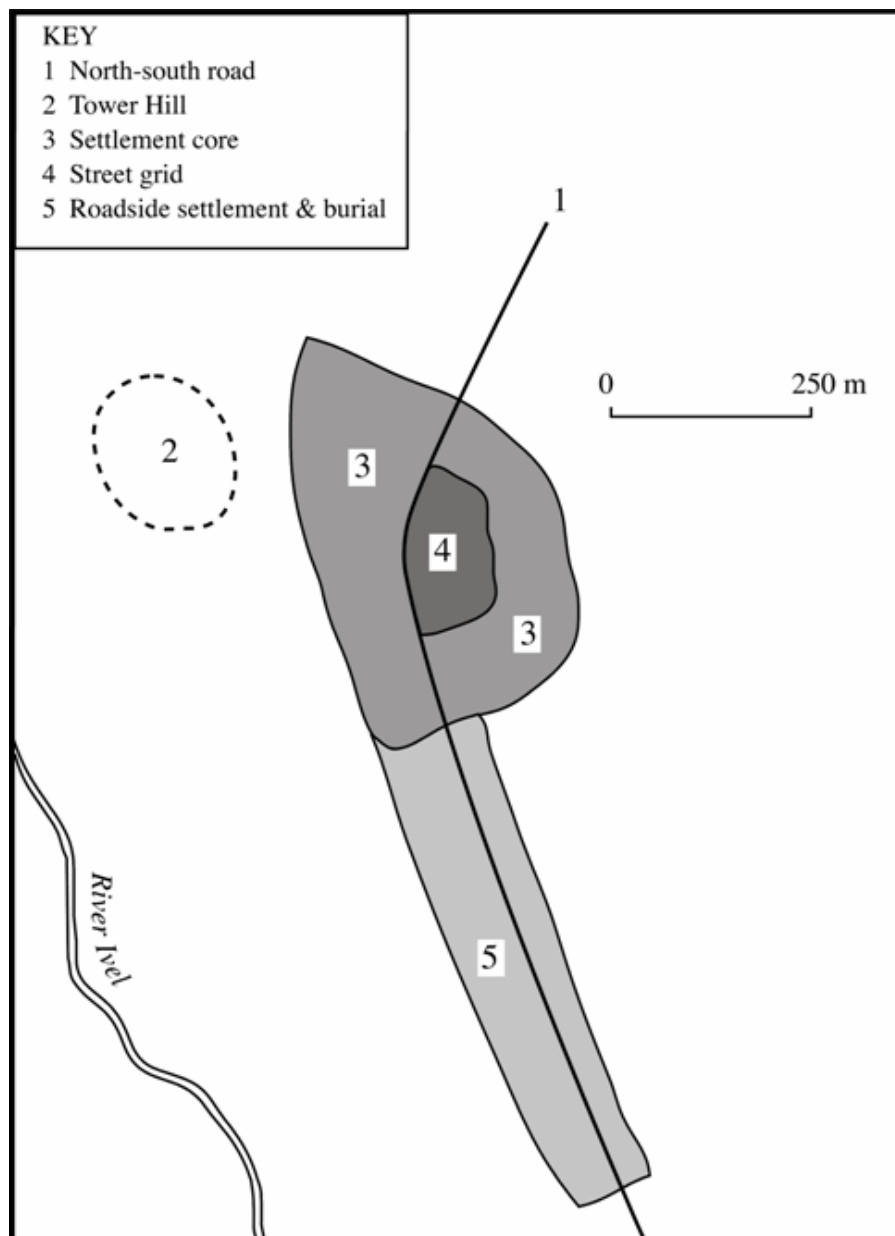


Fig 4.5 Sandy, showing features discussed in the text

After Edgeworth and Steadman 2003: Fig 6

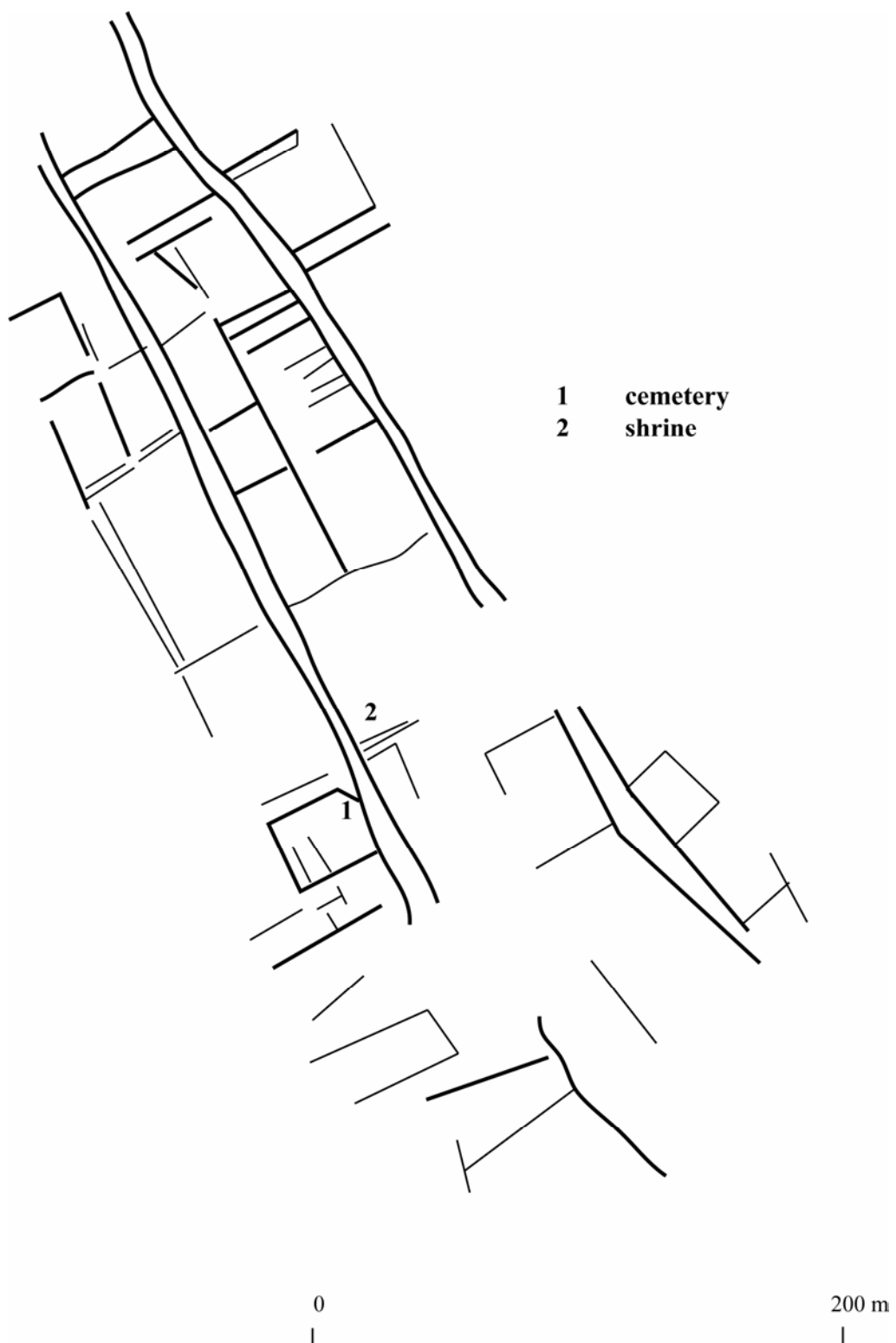


Fig 4.6 Kempston, showing trackways and other features discussed in the text

After Dawson 2004: Fig 5.86

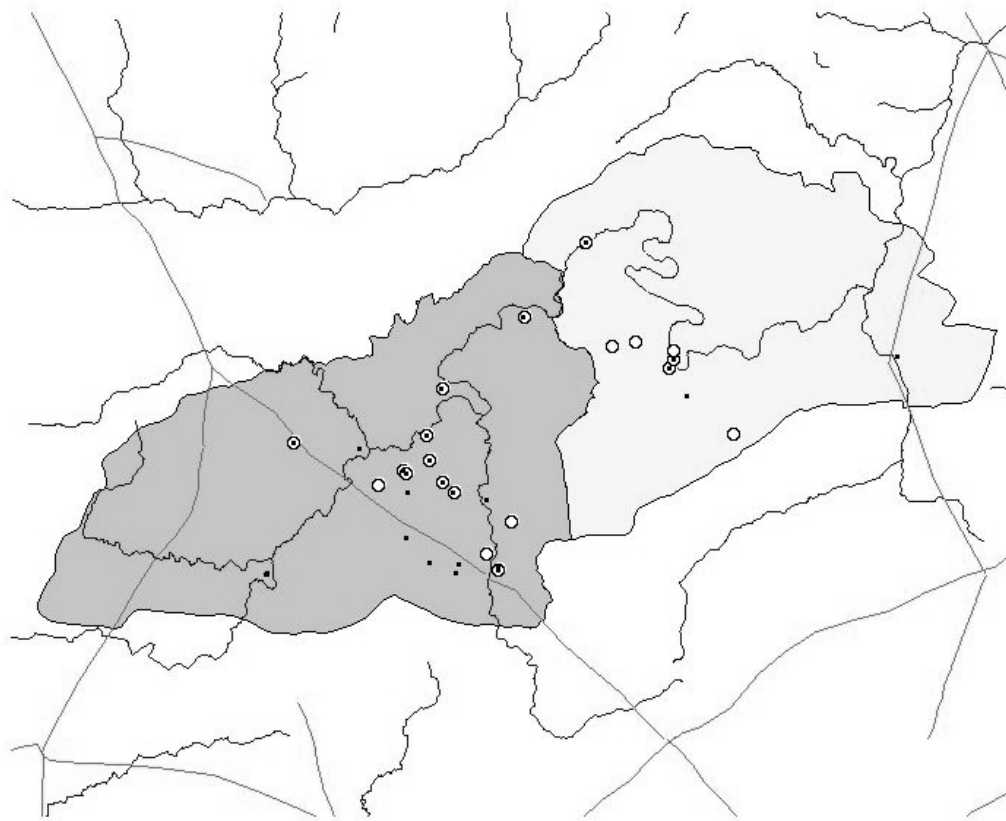


Fig 4.10 Range of structural types

- circular buildings
- rectangular buildings

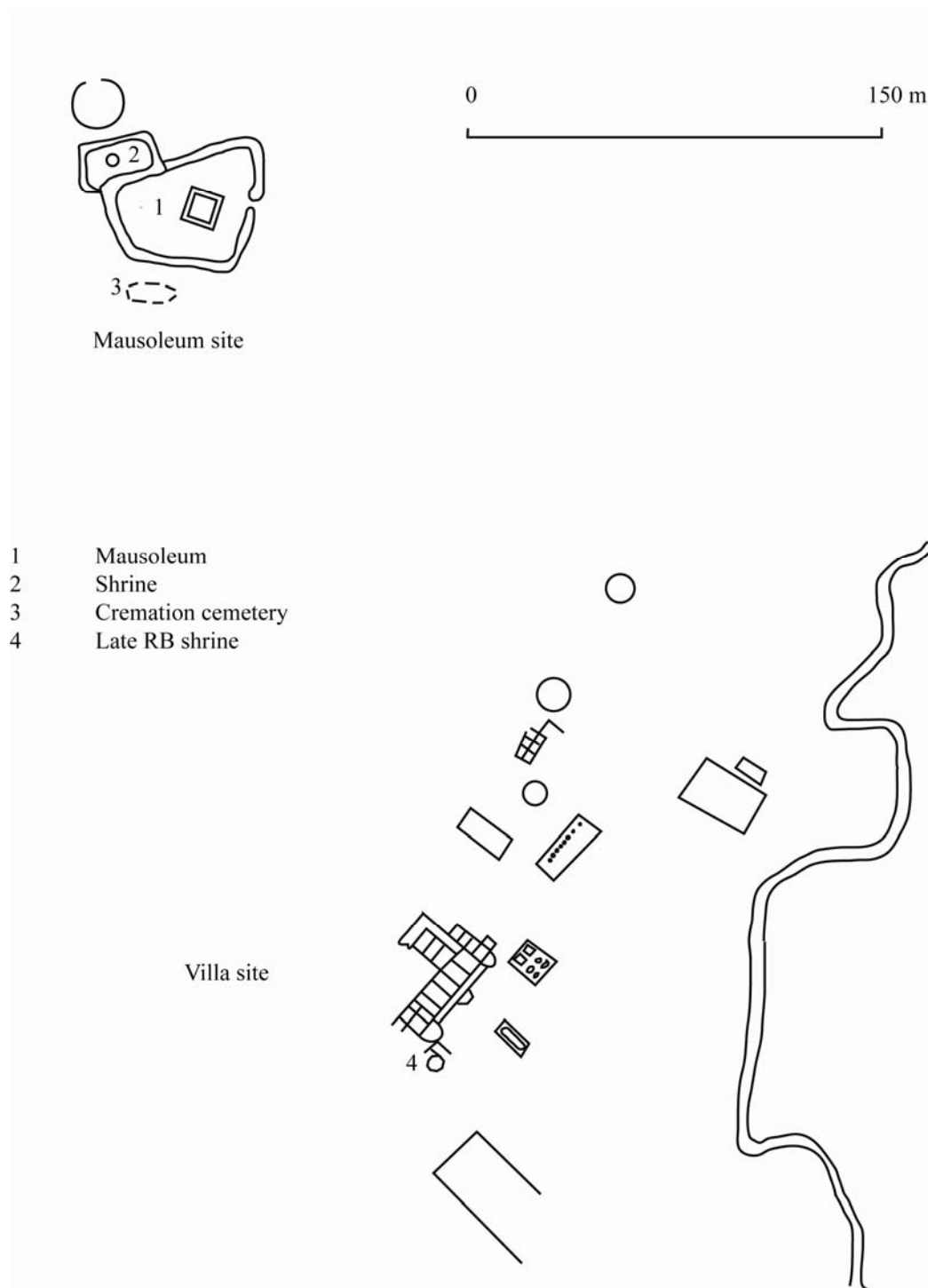


Fig 4.11 Bancroft: the villa and mausoleum sites

After Williams and Zeepvat 1994: Fig 3

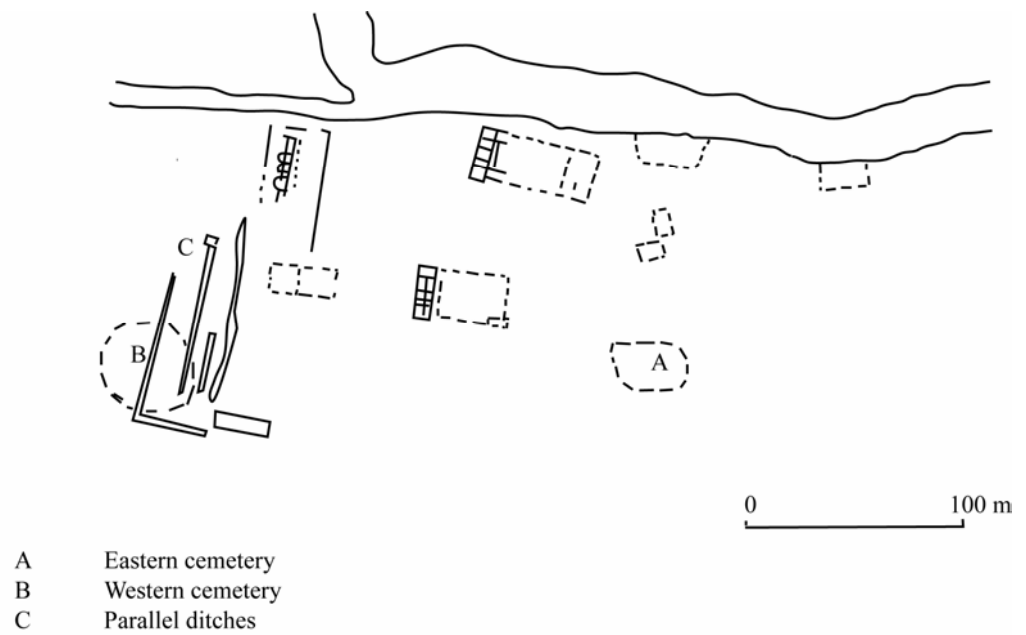


Fig 4.12 Stanton Low, showing features discussed in the text, and with the River Ouse to the north of the settlement

After Woodfield 1991: Fig 5

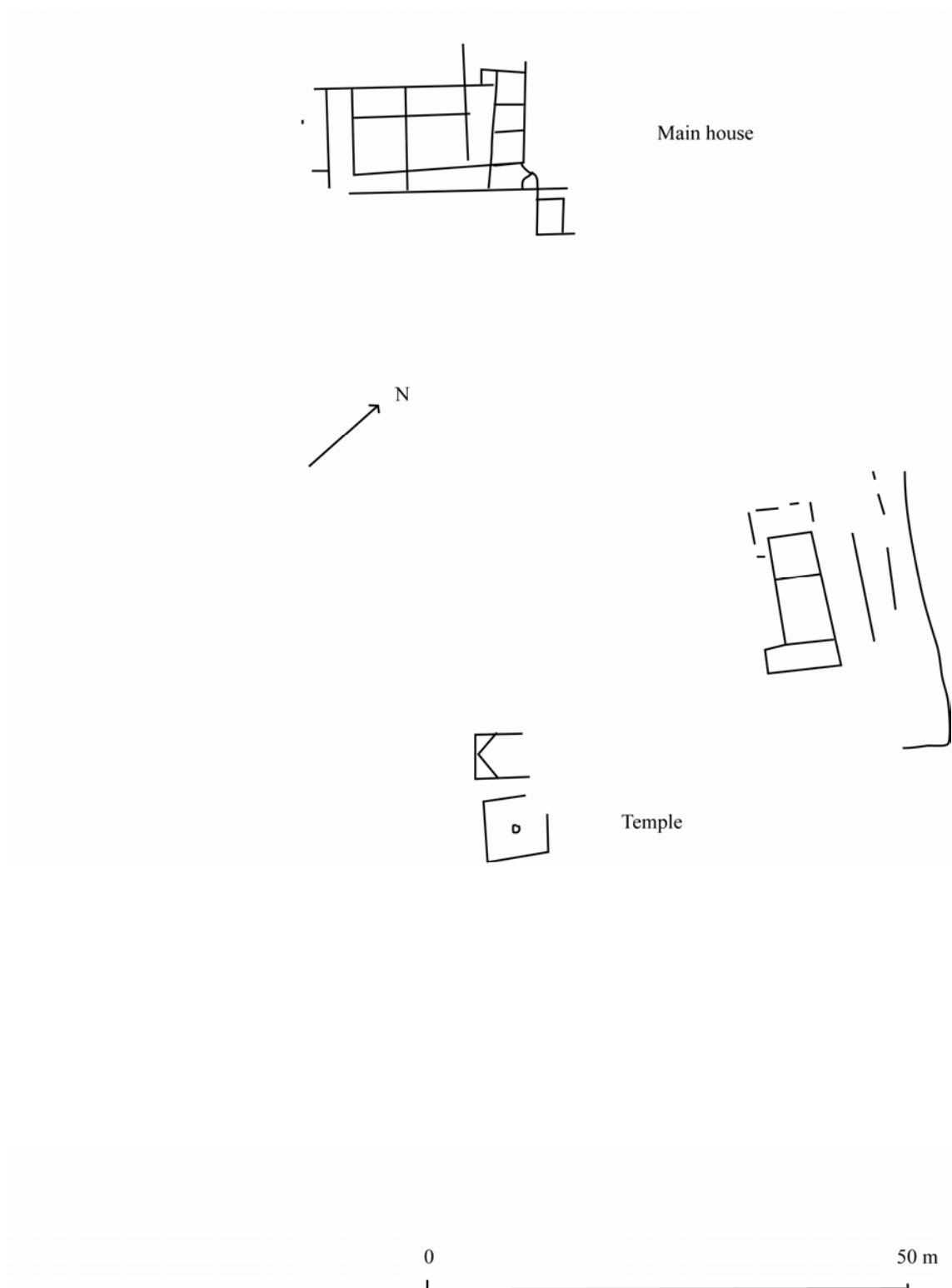


Fig 4.13 Cosgrove villa, showing the temple and the main house

After Quinnell 1991: Fig 3

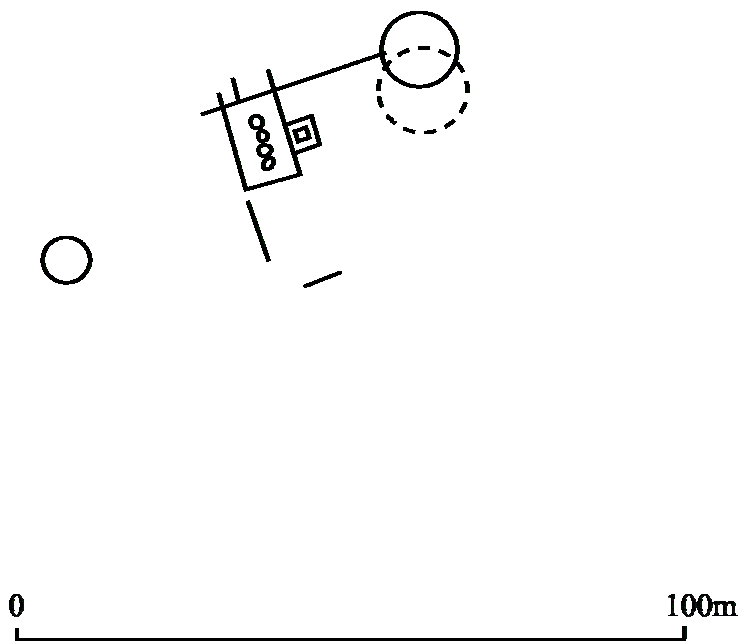


Fig 4.14 Stantonbury villa, showing circular and rectangular structures
 After Zeepvat 1987b: Fig 33

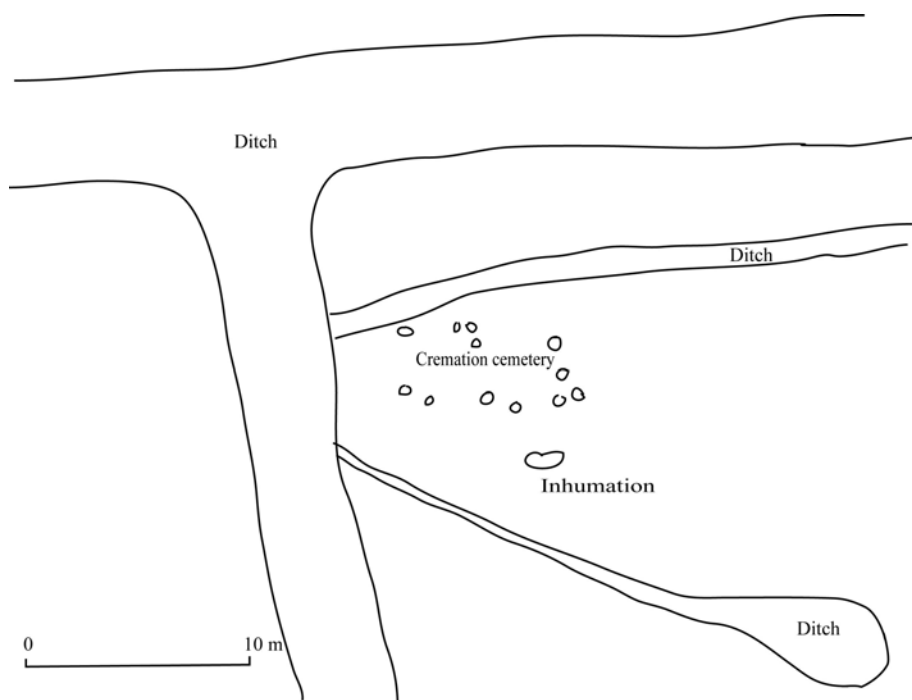
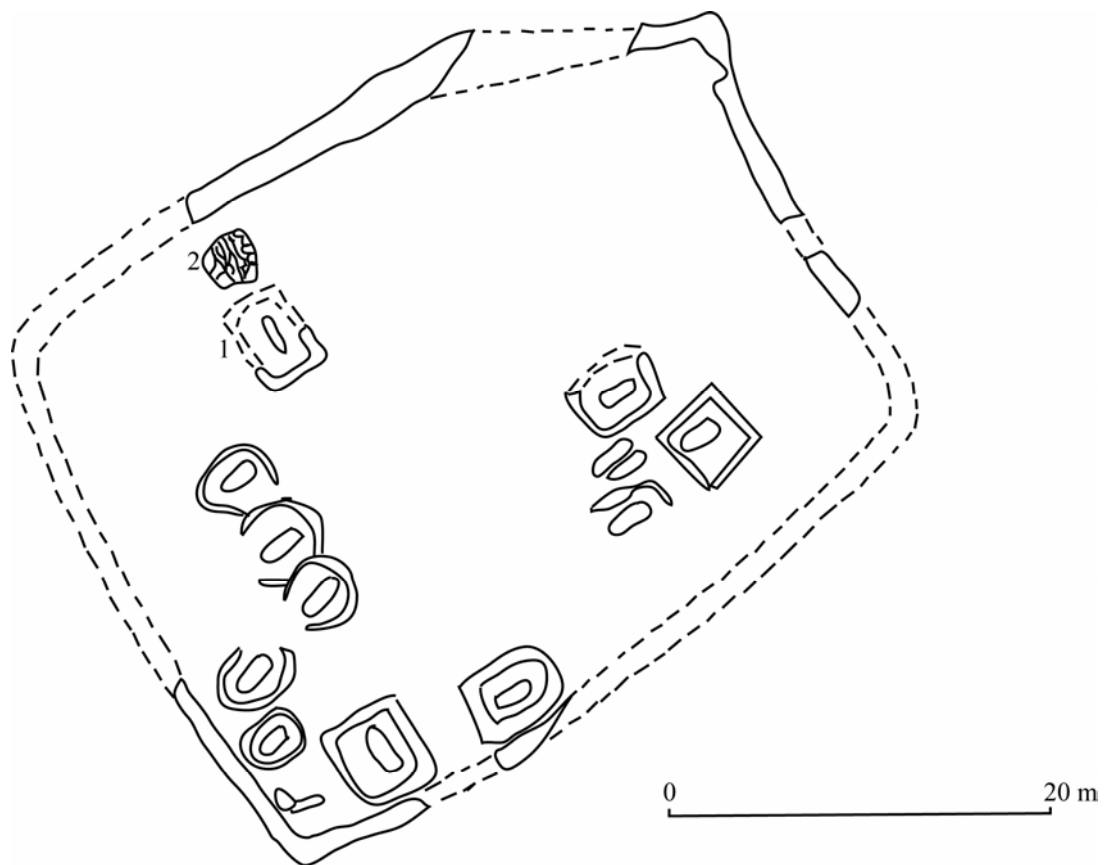


Fig 5.5 Burials at Wavendon Gate, showing the bounded cemetery
 After Williams *et al* 1996: Fig 27



- 1 Inhumation 3986
- 2 Base of possible funerary monument

Fig 5.6 Kempston cemetery, showing the pennisular grave enclosures

After Dawson 2004: Fig 5.116

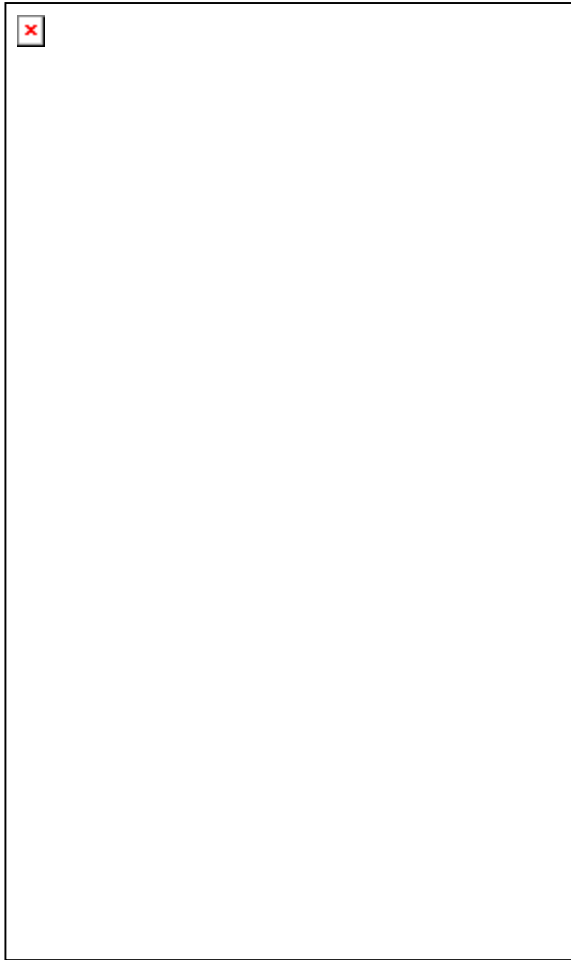


Fig 5.7 Bletsoe cemetery, showing the orderly layout of the graves

After Dawson 1994: Fig 11

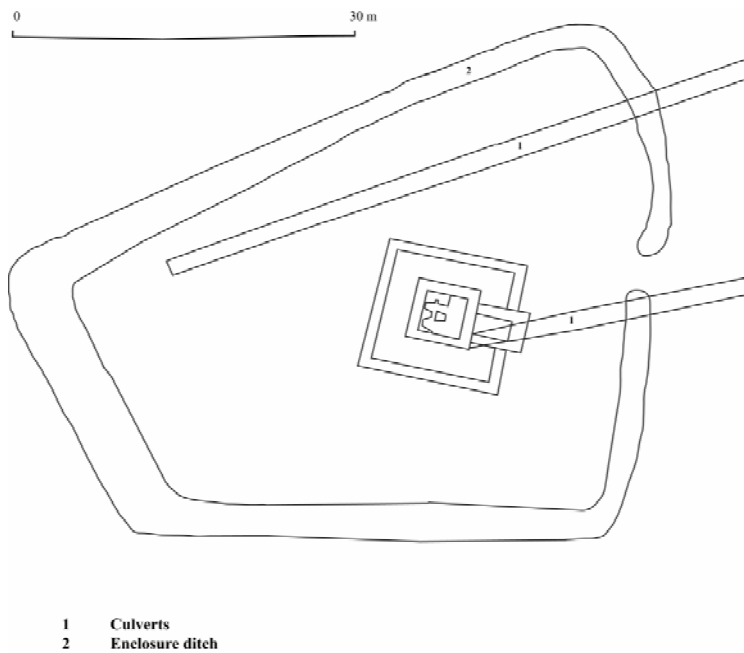


Fig 5.11 Bancroft mausoleum, showing the mausoleum within its enclosure

After Williams and Zeepvat 1994: Fig 46

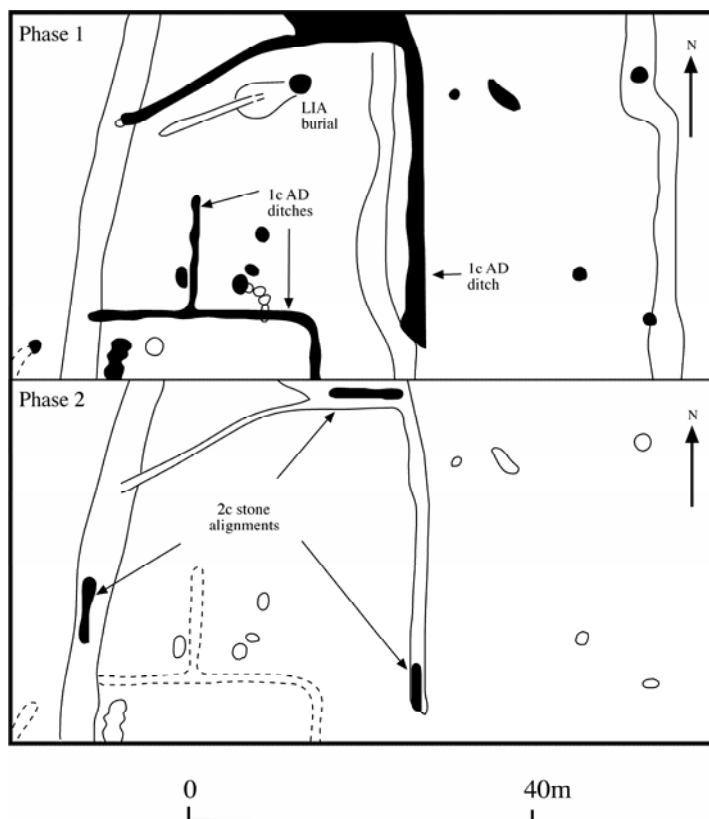


Fig 5.12 East Stagsden LIA burial, showing later ditches and stone alignments

After Dawson 2000a: Fig 18

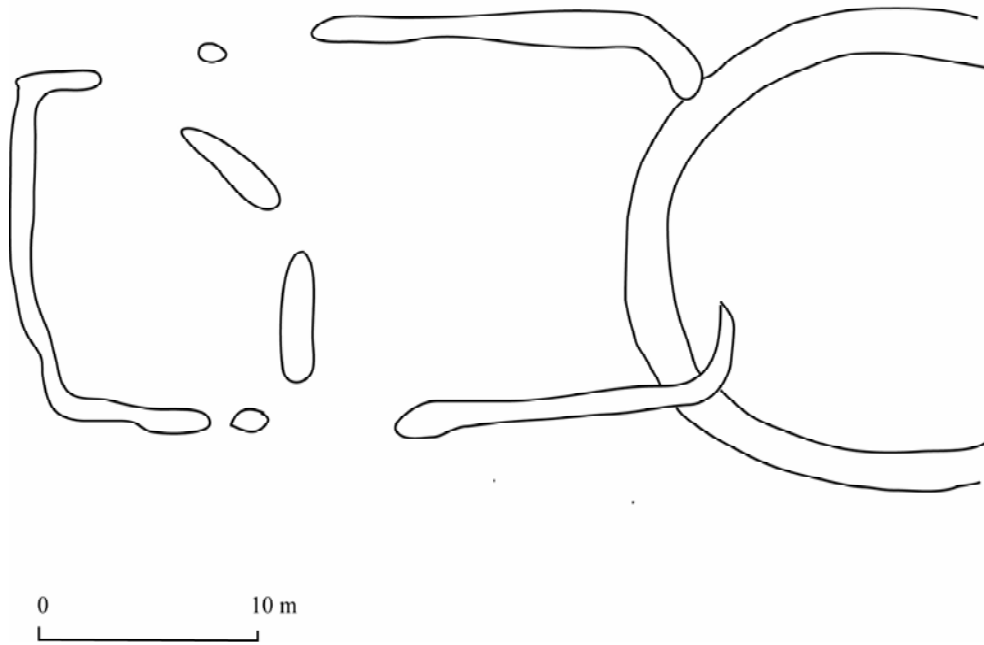


Fig 5.15 Plantation Quarry shrine, showing the rectangular feature cutting the ring ditch

After Dawson 1996: Fig 9

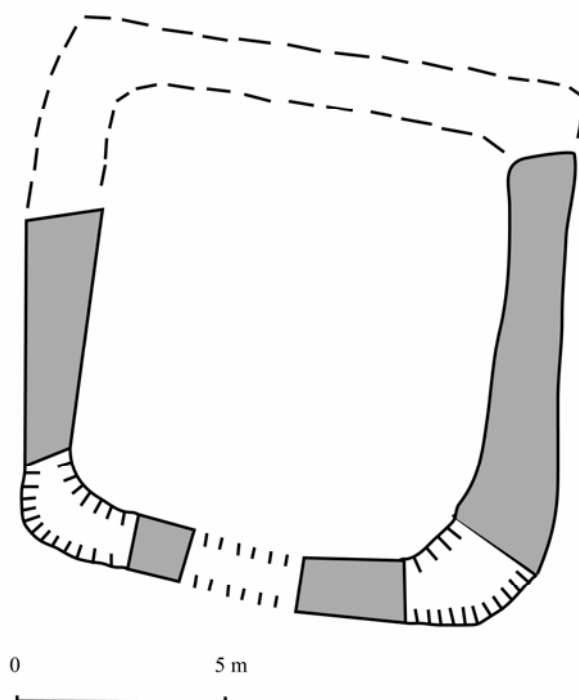


Fig 5.16 Redlands Quarry shrine

After Pinder 1986: Fig 12

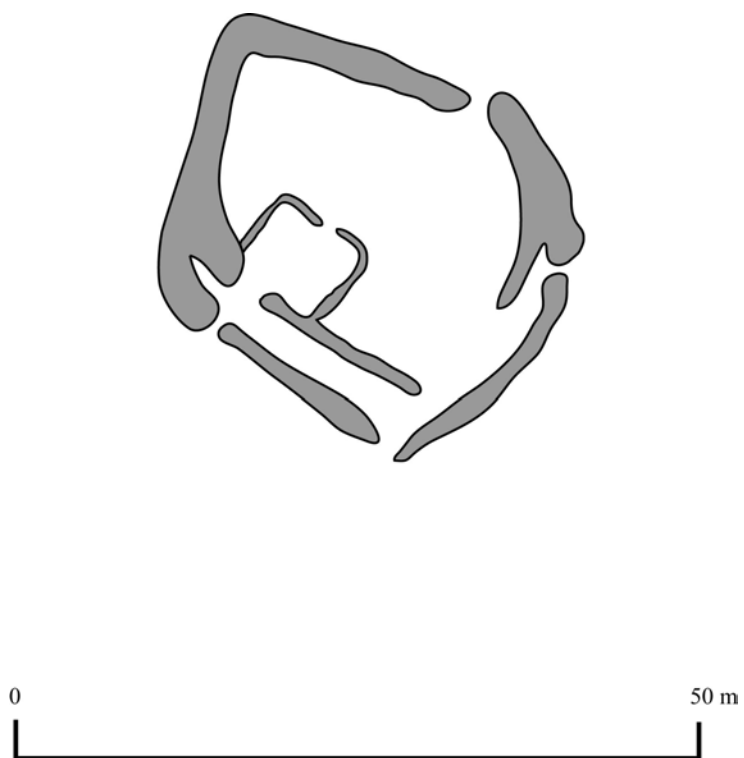


Fig 5.17 Marsh Leys shrine

After Albion 2002b: Fig 12

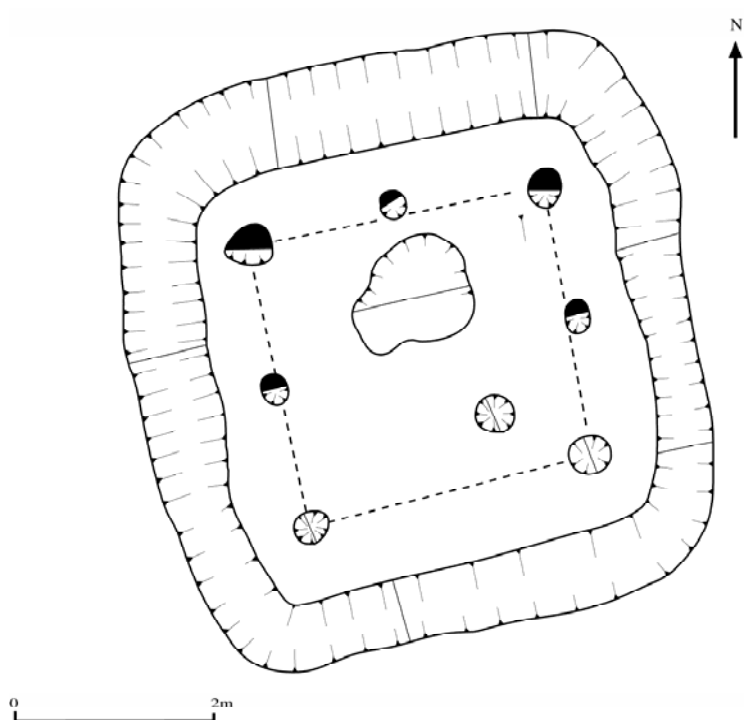


Fig 5.18 Biddenham Loop shrine

After Luke in prep

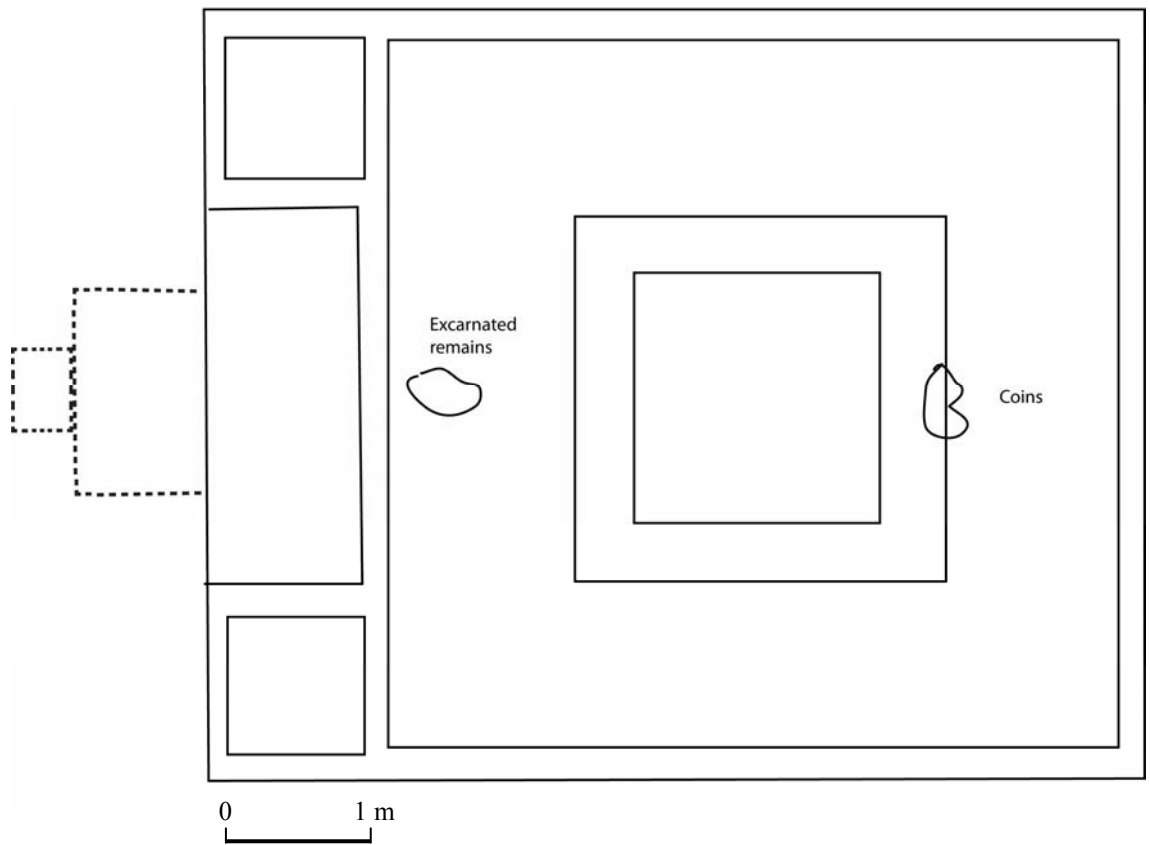


Fig 5.19 Thornborough temple, showing deposits of coins and excarnated human remains

After Green 1965: Fig 2

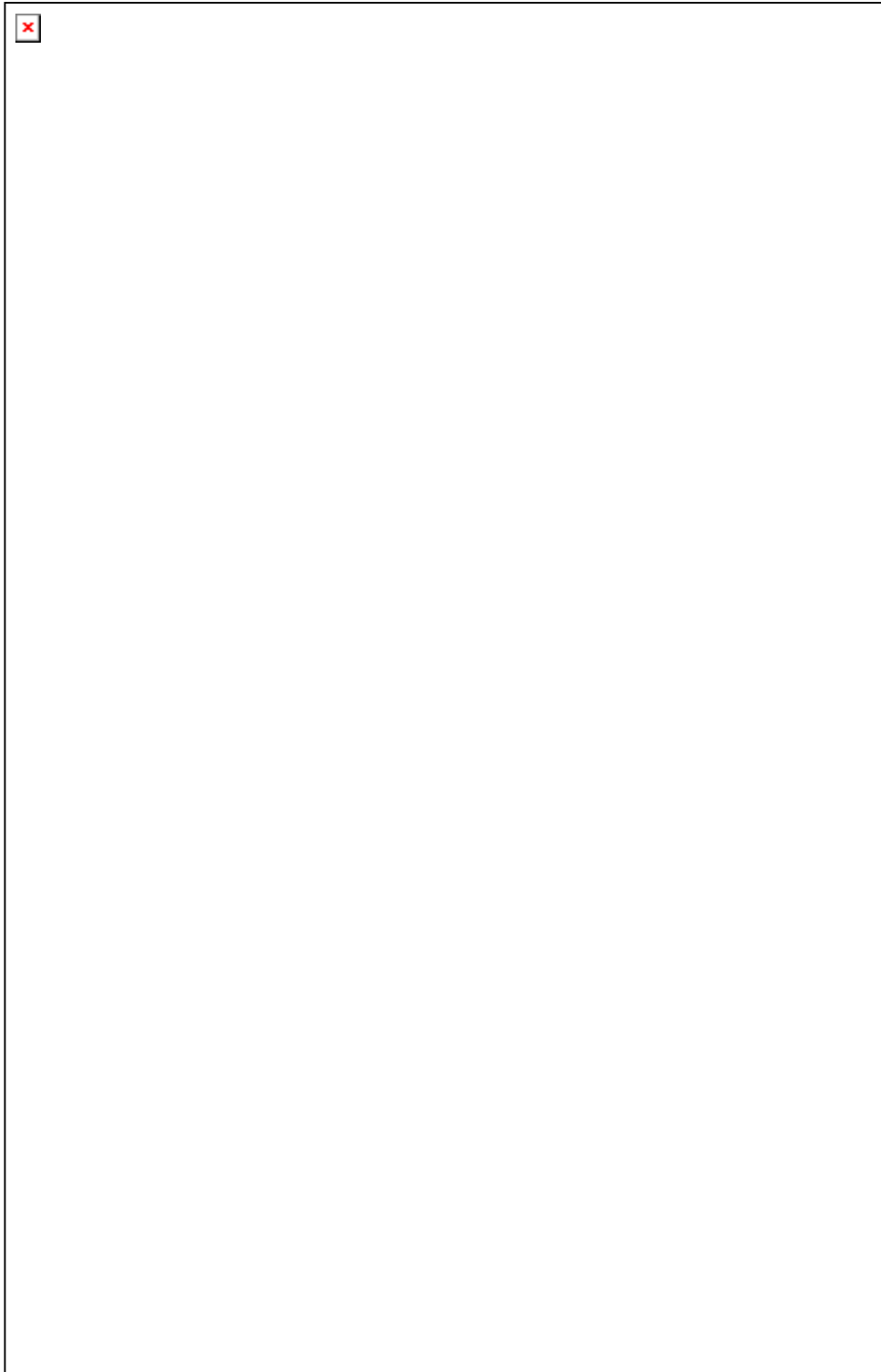


Fig 5.20 Cosgrove temple, showing central pit containing votive deposits

After Quinnell 1991: Fig 12

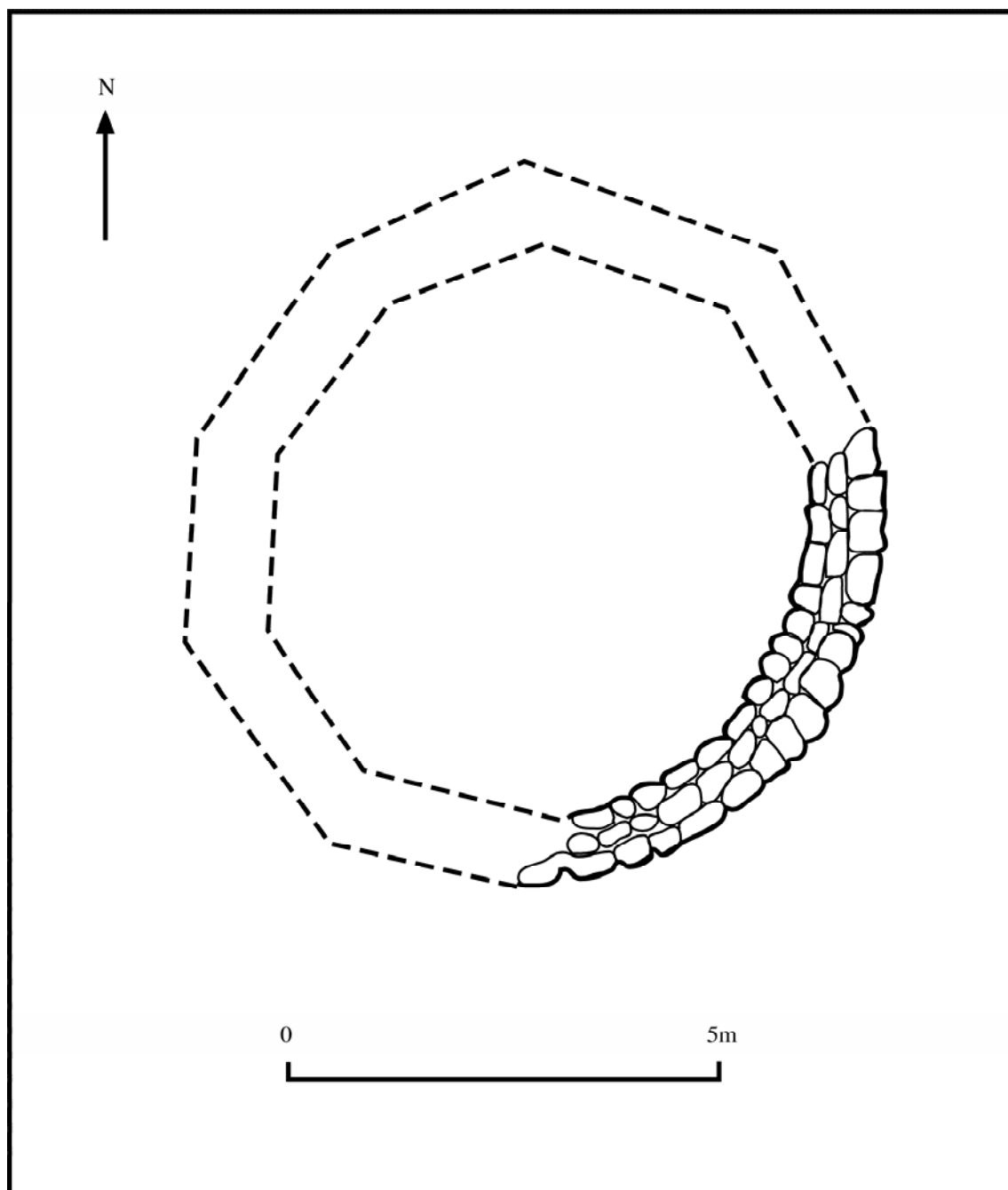


Fig 5.21 Kempston shrine, octagonal or perhaps circular in shape

After Dawson 2004: Fig 5.101

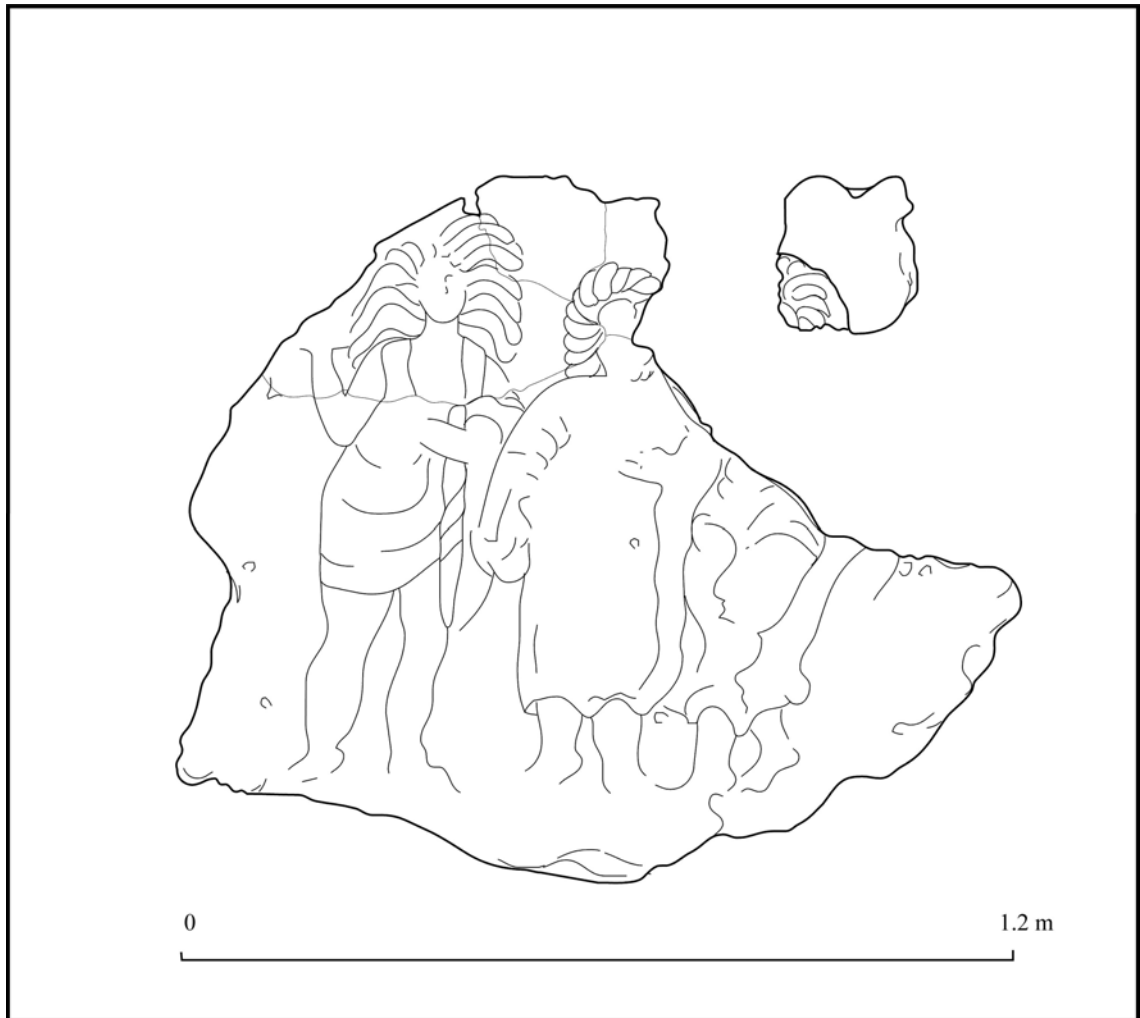


Fig 5.22 Sculpture from Sandy, with three figures, the central one possibly sacrificing
After Dawson 1995: Fig 15.5

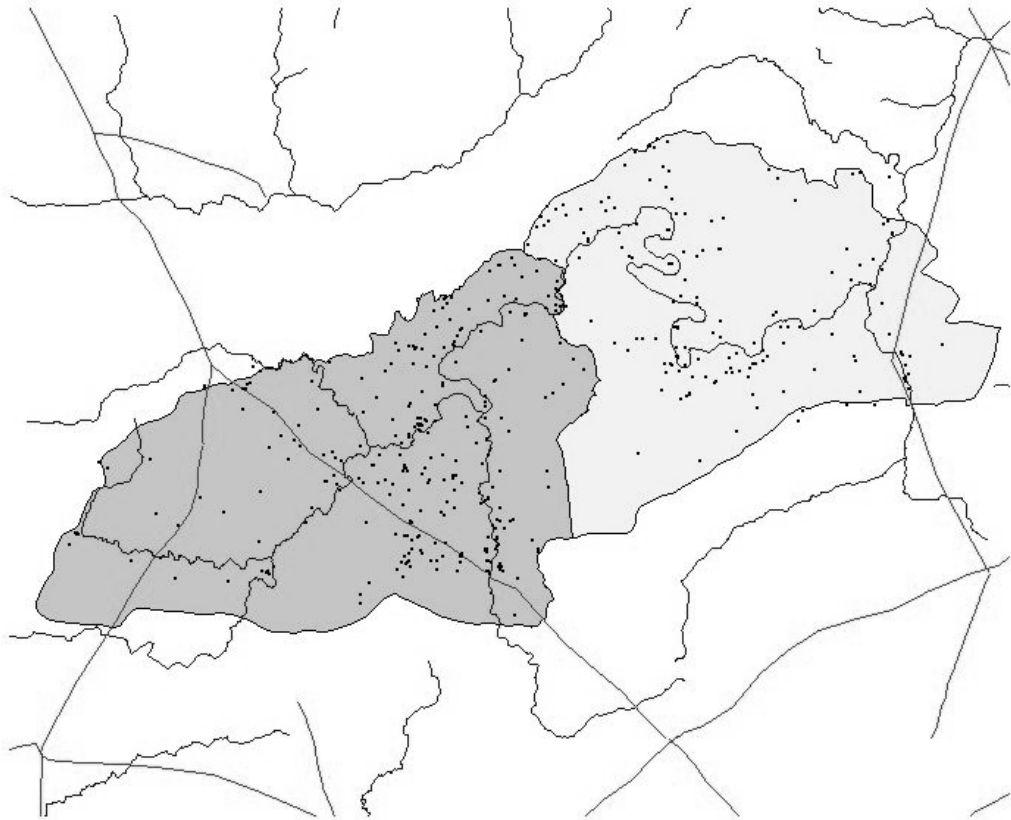


Fig 6.1 All Level 2 and Level 3 sites

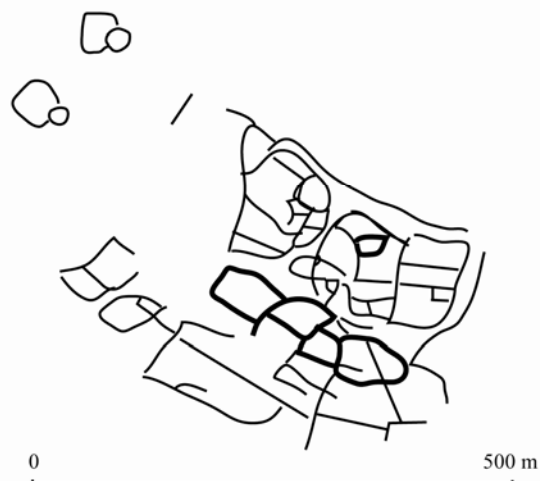


Fig 6.2 Northend Farm, Great Barford (the cropmark)

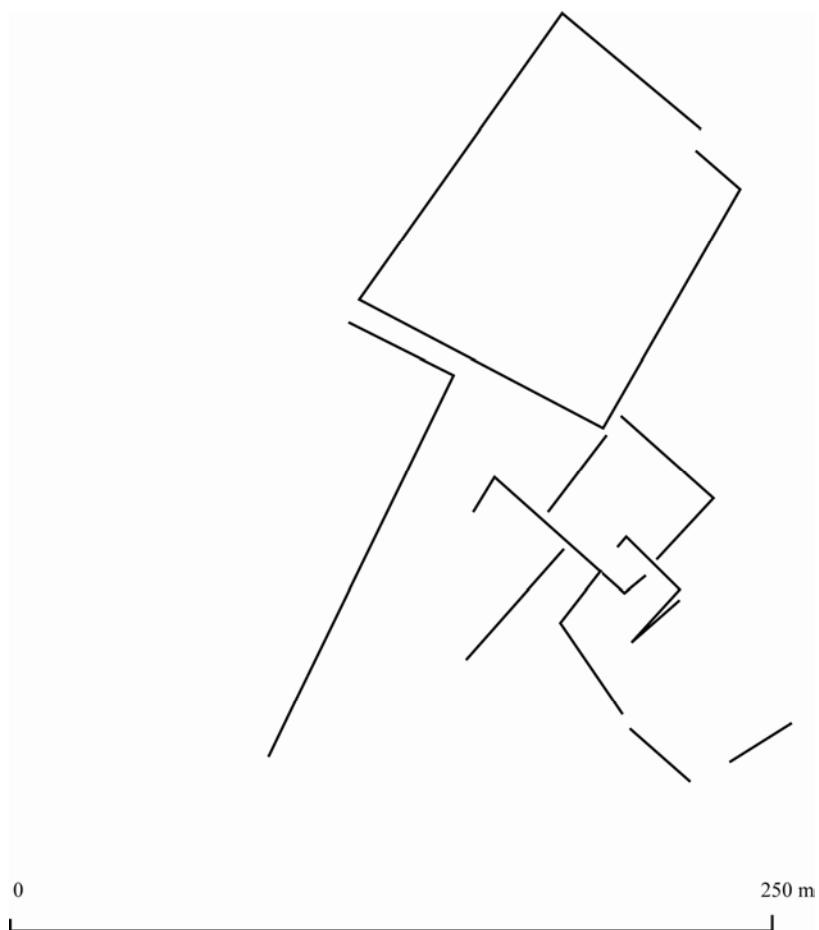


Fig 6.3 **Blackfurlong, Ravenstone (the cropmark)**

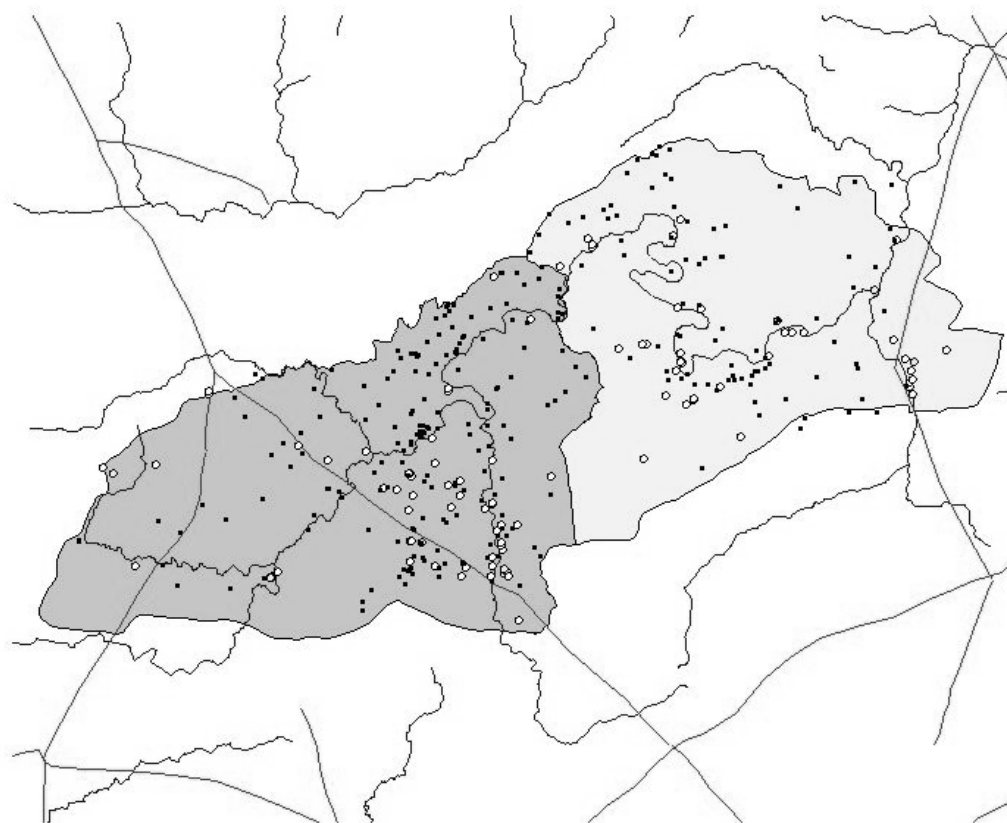


Fig 6.4 All settlement sites

- Level 2 occupation sites
- Level 3 occupation sites

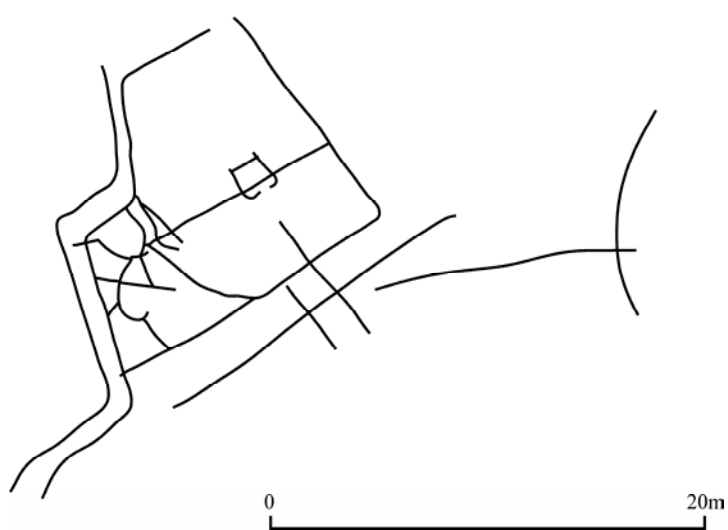


Fig 6.5 Peartree Farm, Bedford (the cropmark)

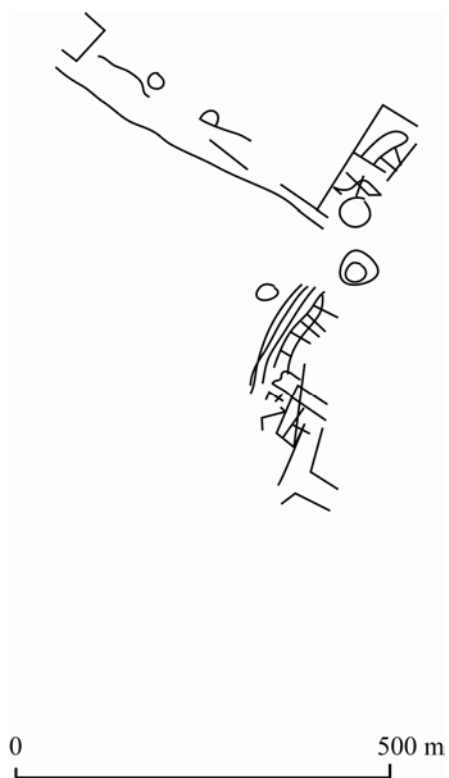


Fig 6.6 Blunham (the cropmark)

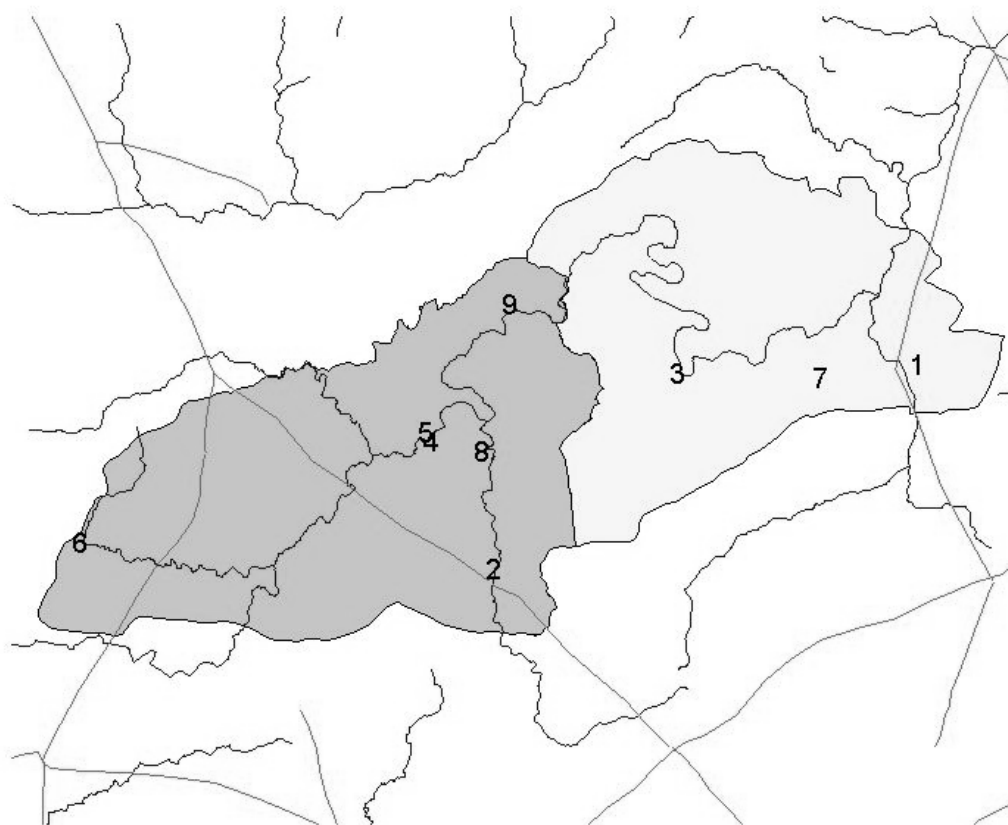


Fig 6.7 **Size 3 settlements**

- 1 Sandy
- 2 *Magiovinium*
- 3 Kempston
- 4 Stanton Low
- 5 Haversham
- 6 Evenley
- 7 Cople and Willington
- 8 Willen Road, Newport Pagnell
- 9 Ashfurlong

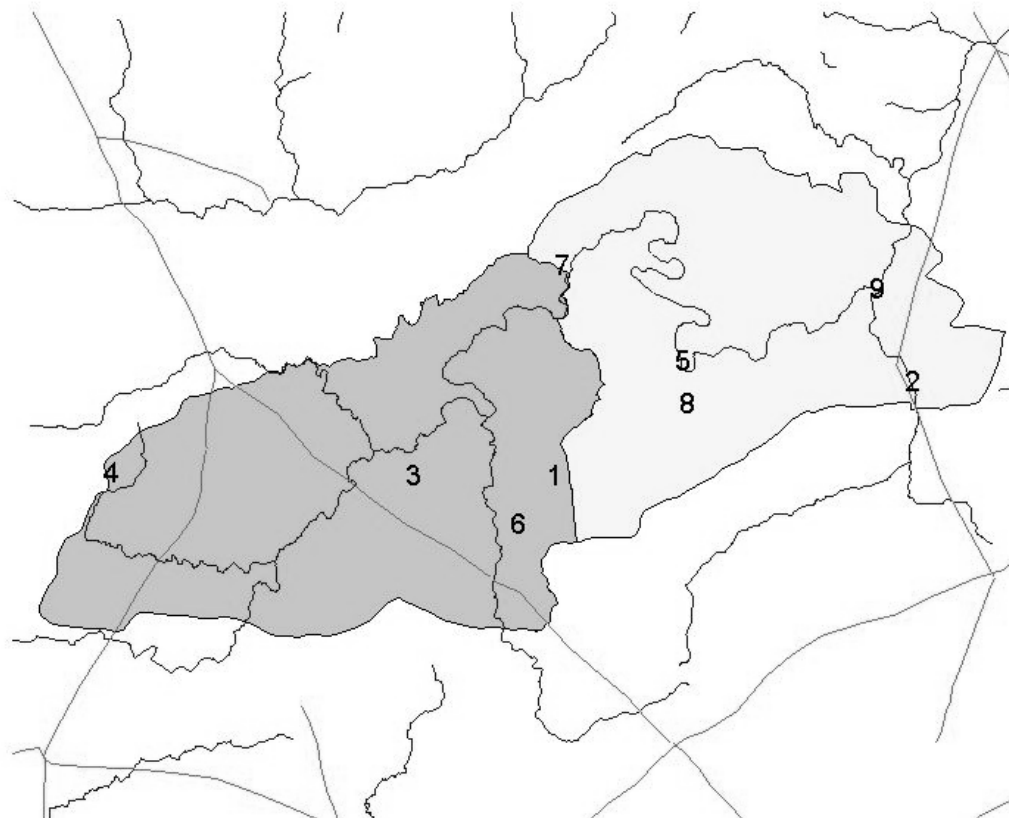


Fig 6.8 **Size 2 settlements**

- 1 Salford
- 2 Warren Villas
- 3 Bancroft
- 4 Syresham
- 5 Biddenham sites
- 6 Wavendon
- 7 Harrold Kiln
- 8 Marsh Leys
- 9 Roxton

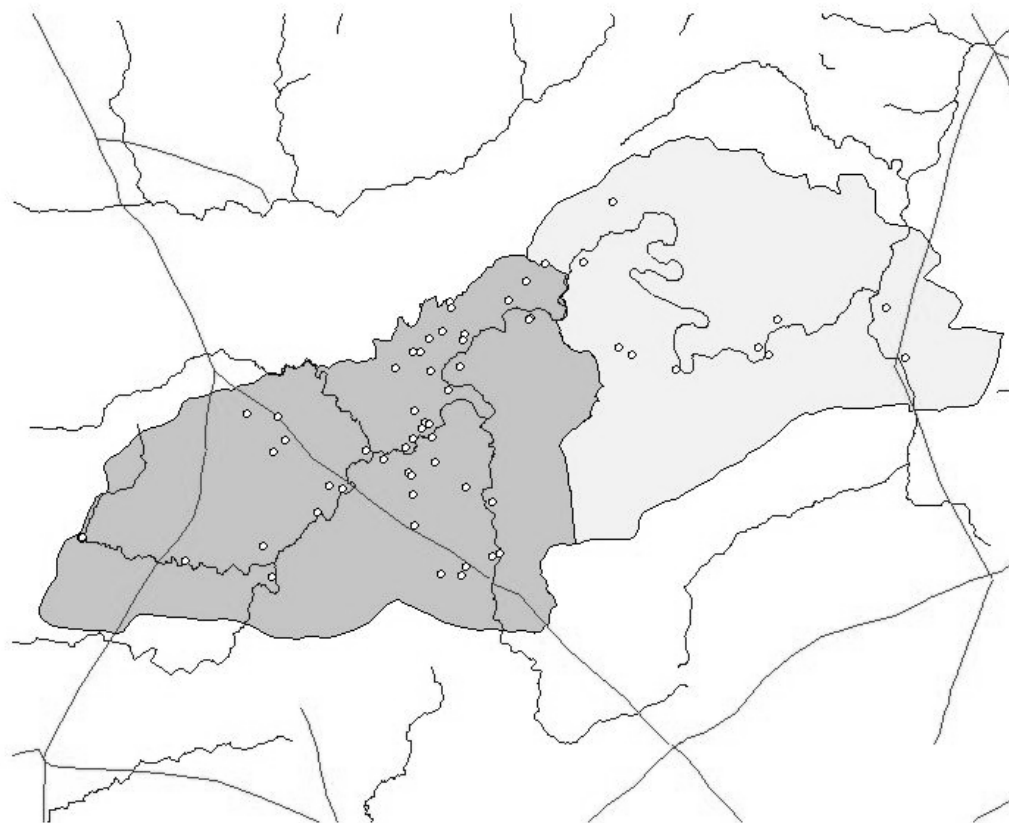


Fig 6.9 All stone buildings

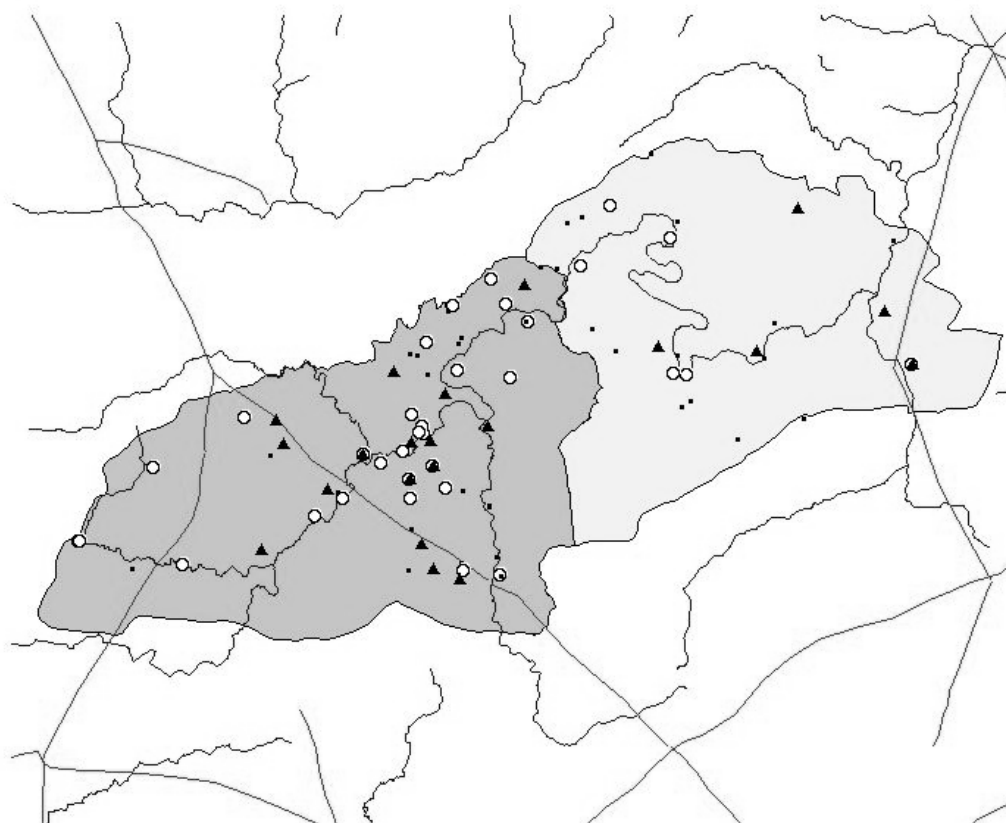


Fig 6.11 Architectural elaboration

- ▲ AE3
- AE2
- AE1

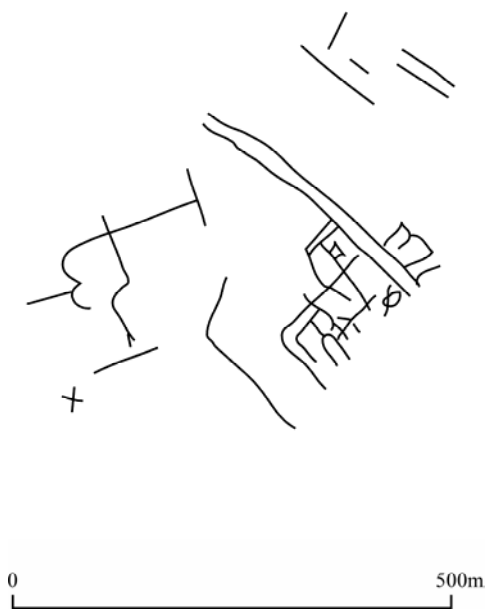


Fig 6.12 Newnham, Bedford (the cropmark)

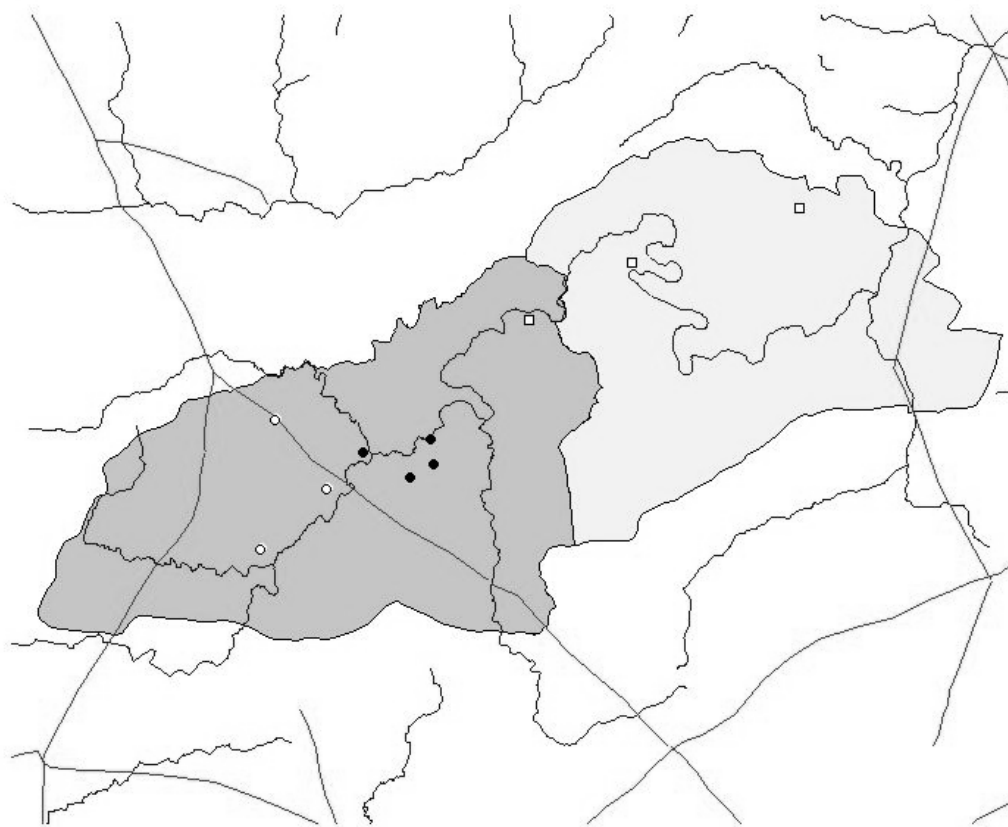


Fig 6.13 Villas

- Excavated villas
- SMR villas
- Possible villas (cropmarks)

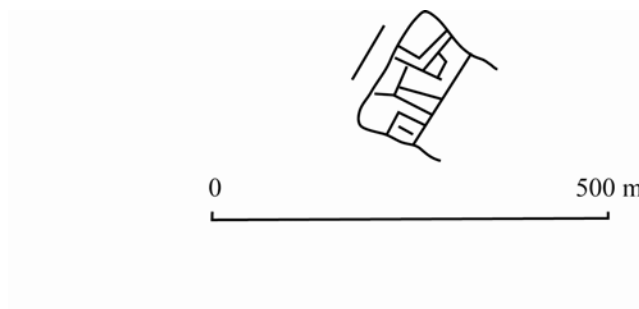


Fig 6.14 Colmworth (the cropmark)

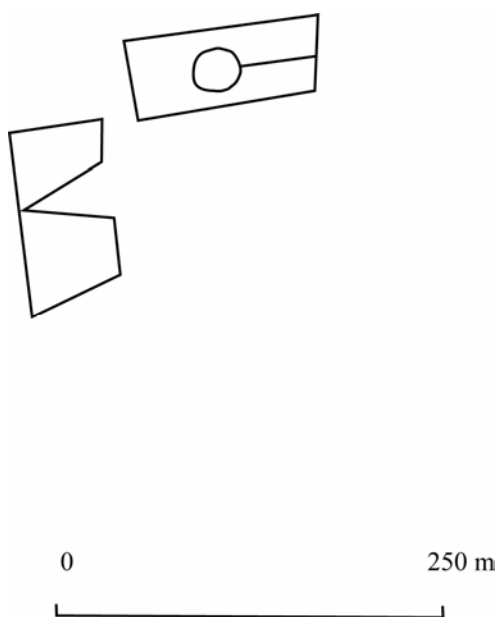


Fig 6.15 Pavenham (the cropmark)

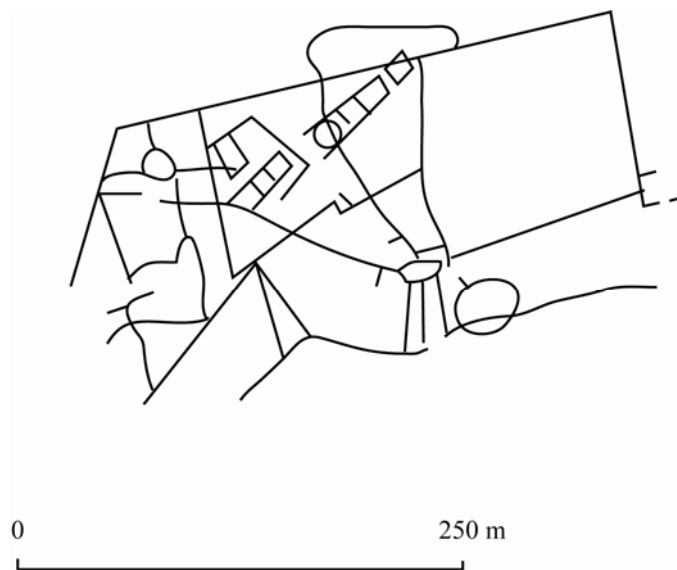


Fig 6.16 Rines Hill (the cropmark, showing the rectangular range incorporating a roundhouse)

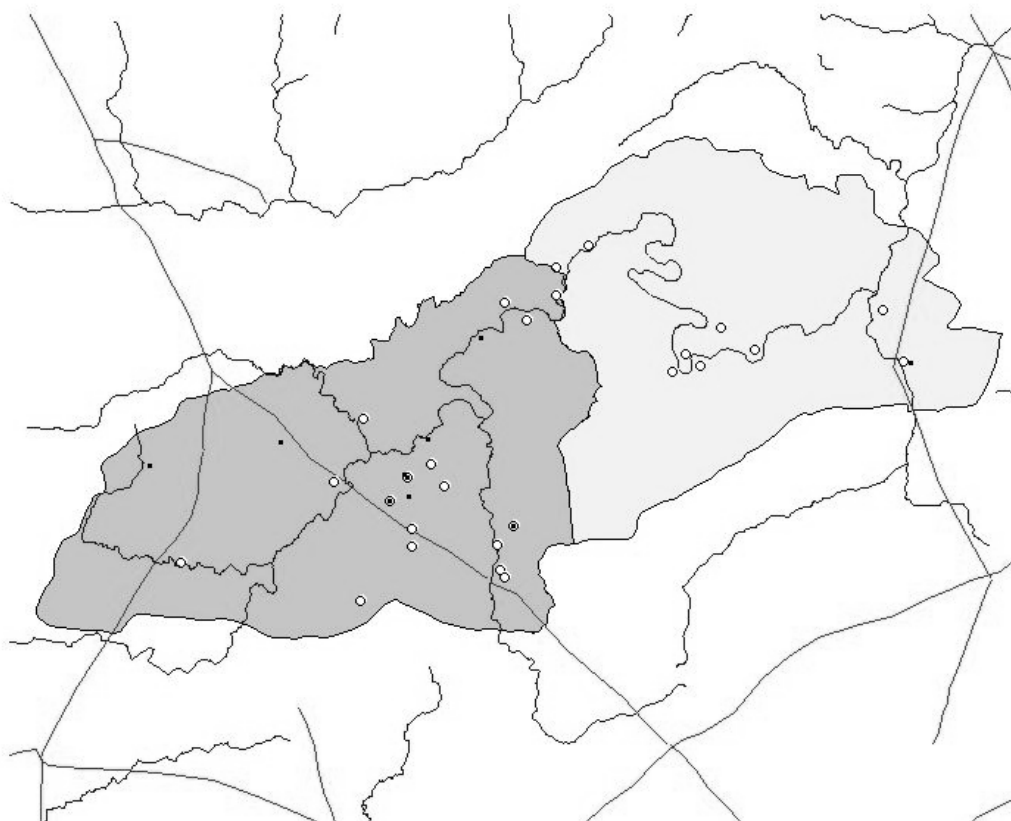


Fig 6.17 All finds associated with literacy

- Writing materials and inscriptions
- Graffiti

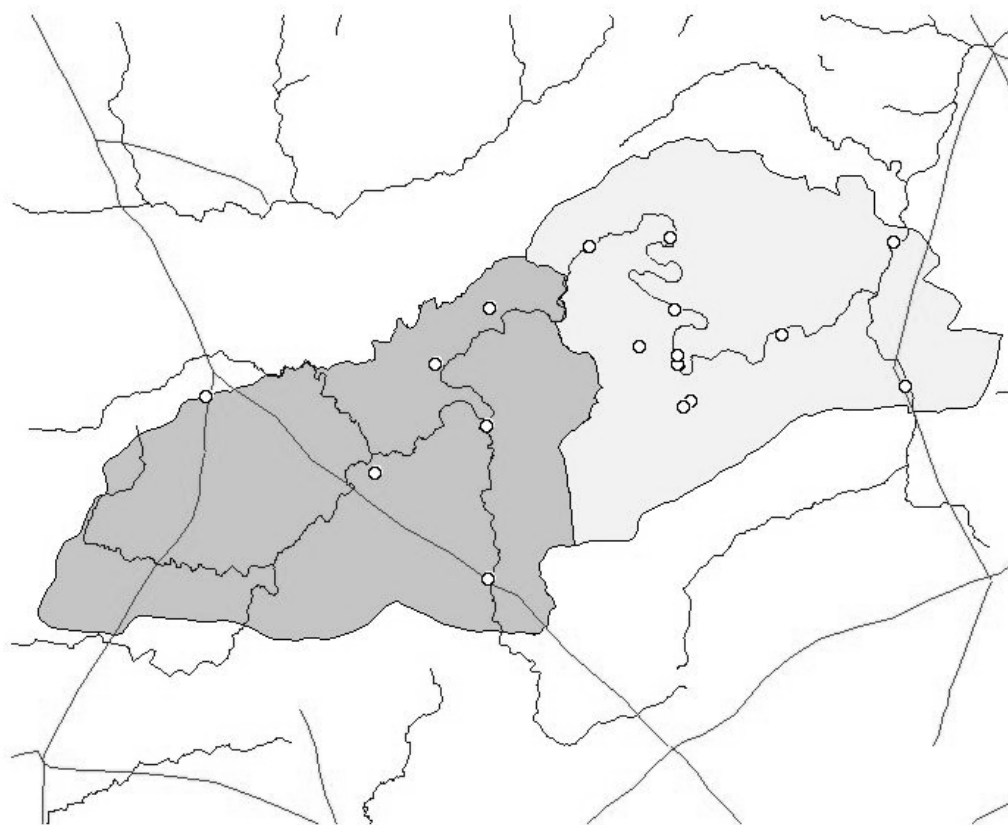


Fig 6.18 Traditional rite of inhumation

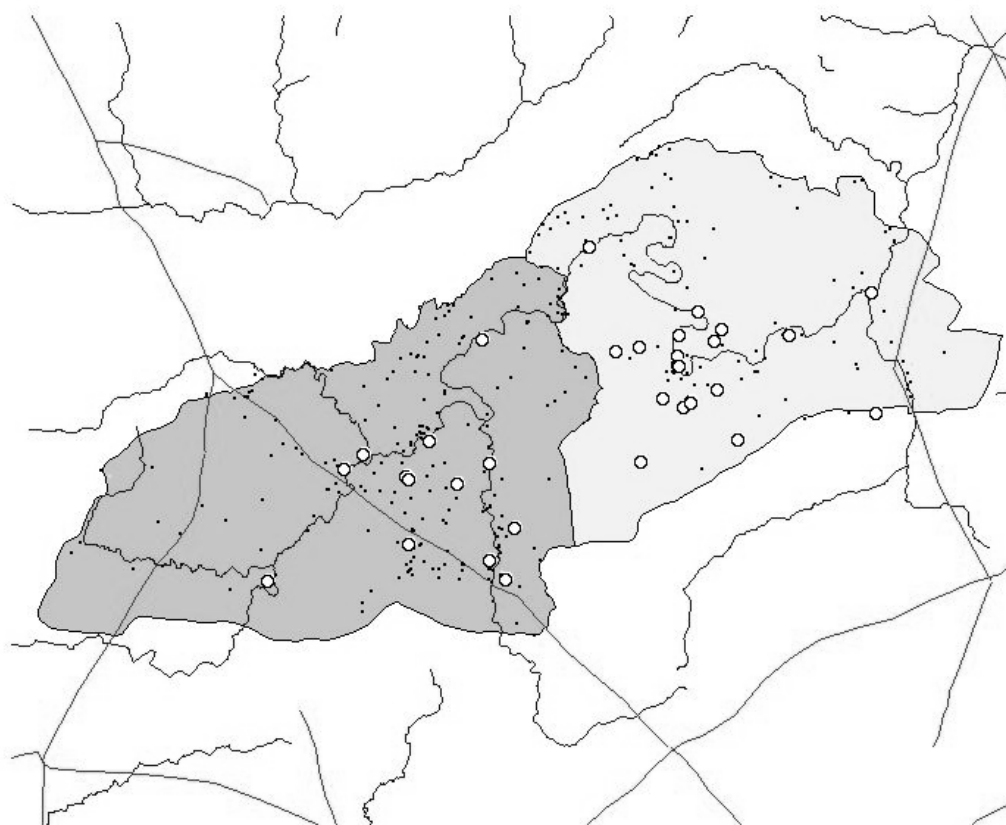


Fig 6.19 Ritual deposits

- All ritual deposits
- All Level 2 and Level 3 sites

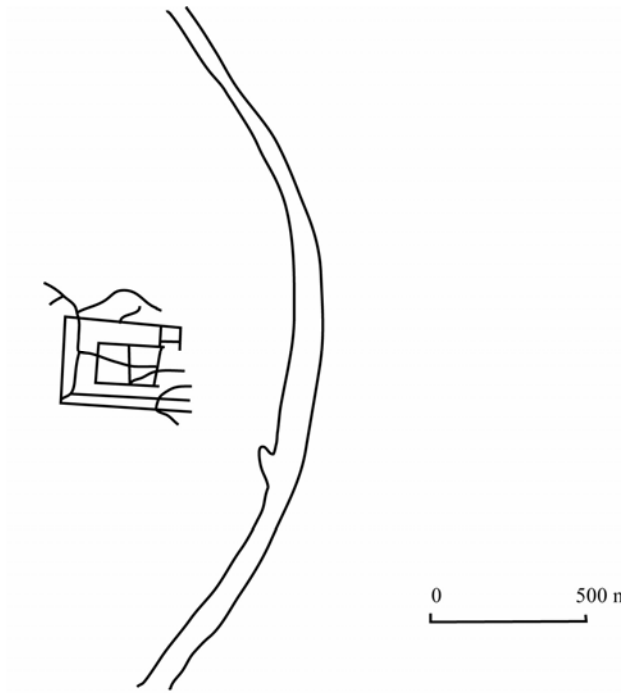


Fig 6.20 East End, Pavenham (the cropmark, showing the River Ouse to the east)

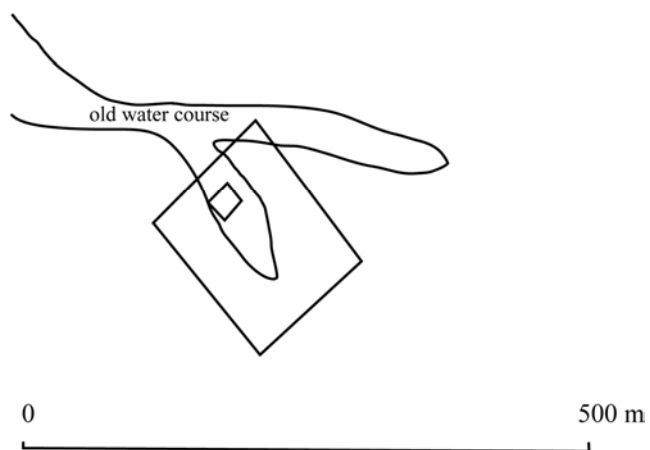


Fig 6.21 Keysoe Row East (the cropmark, showing the rectangular enclosures)

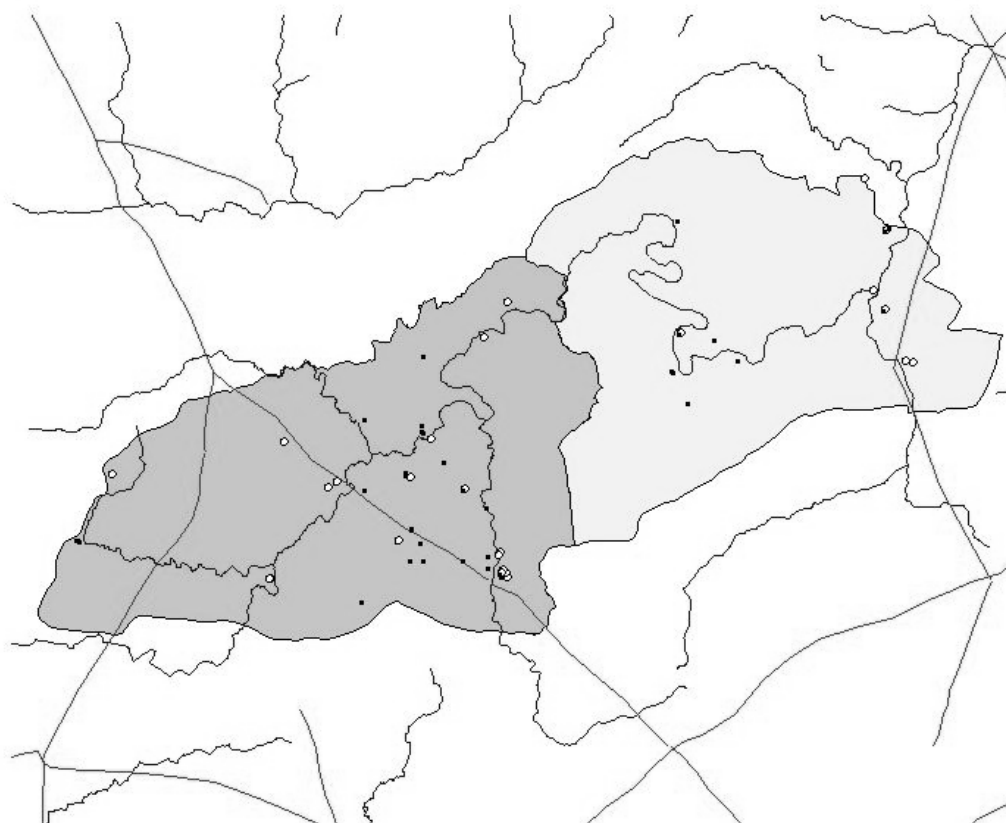


Fig 6.22 **Ritual and religious items**

- Items associated with deities
- Other votive items

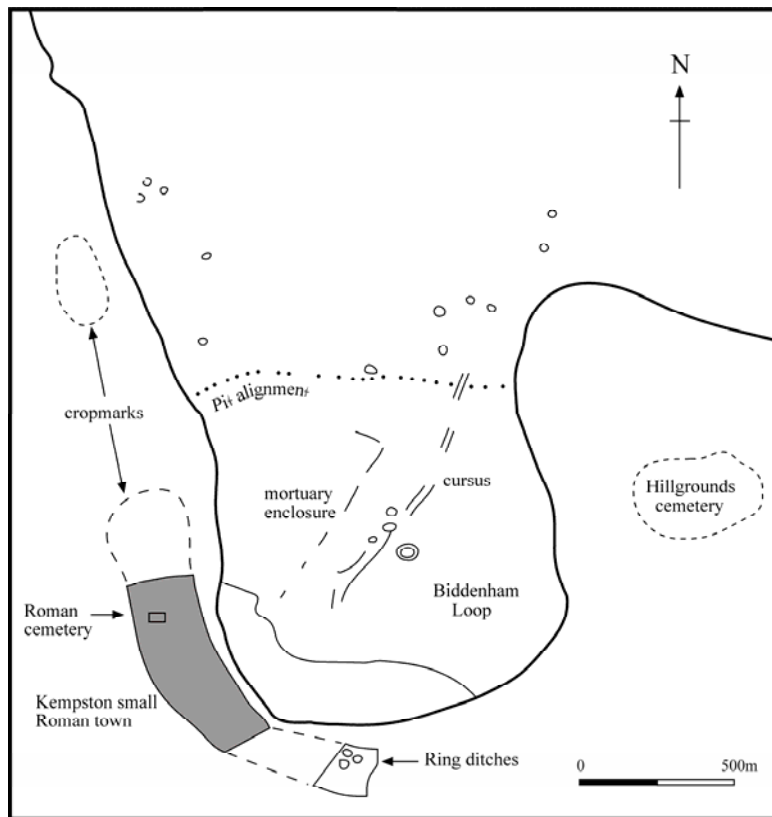


Fig 6.23 Biddenham Loop ceremonial complex, showing the position of Kempston in relation to the Biddenham sites

After BCAS 2000: Fig 1; Malim 2000: Fig 8.6

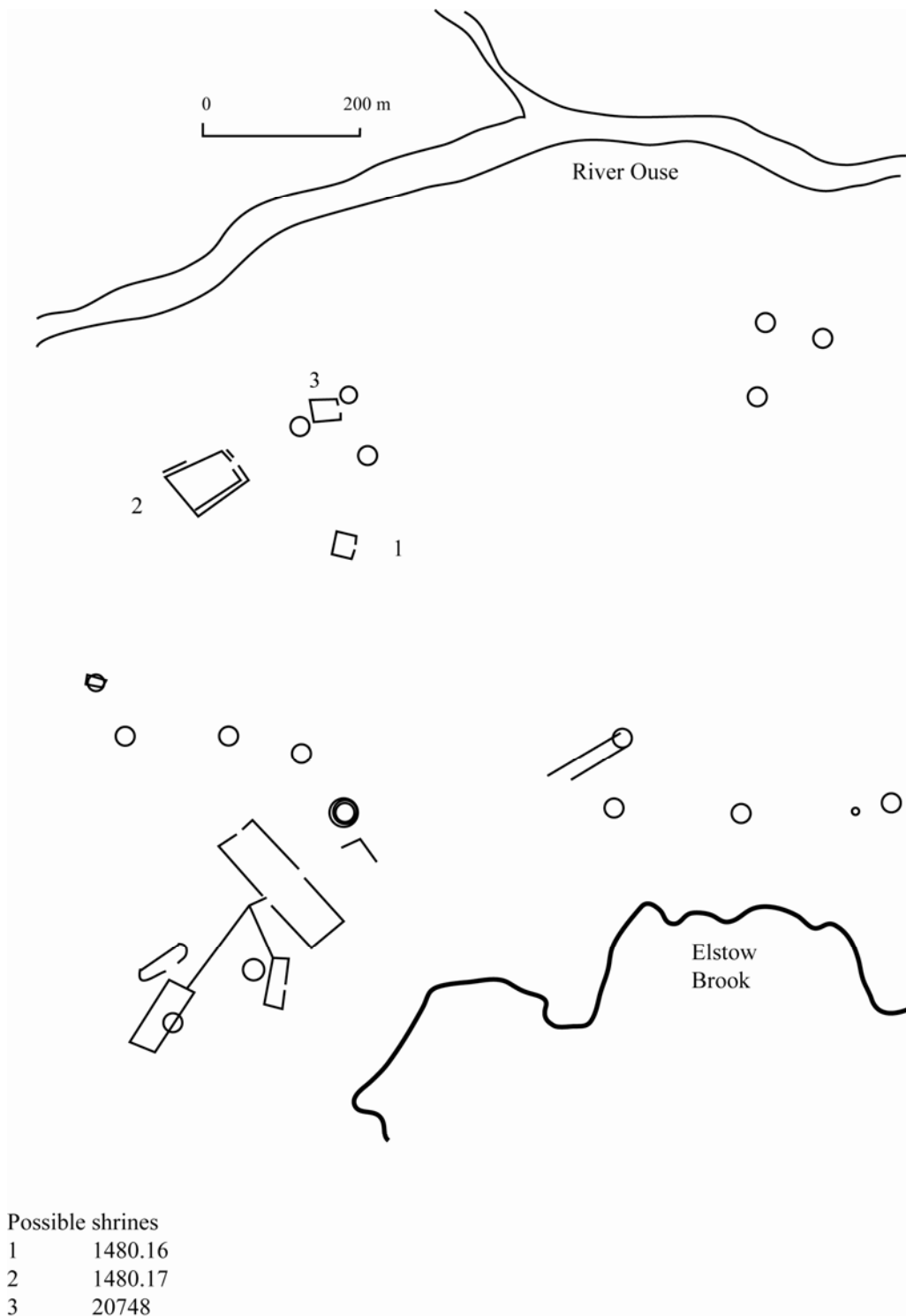


Fig 6.24 Willington ceremonial complex, including prehistoric monuments and later shrines
After Malim 2000: Fig 8.13

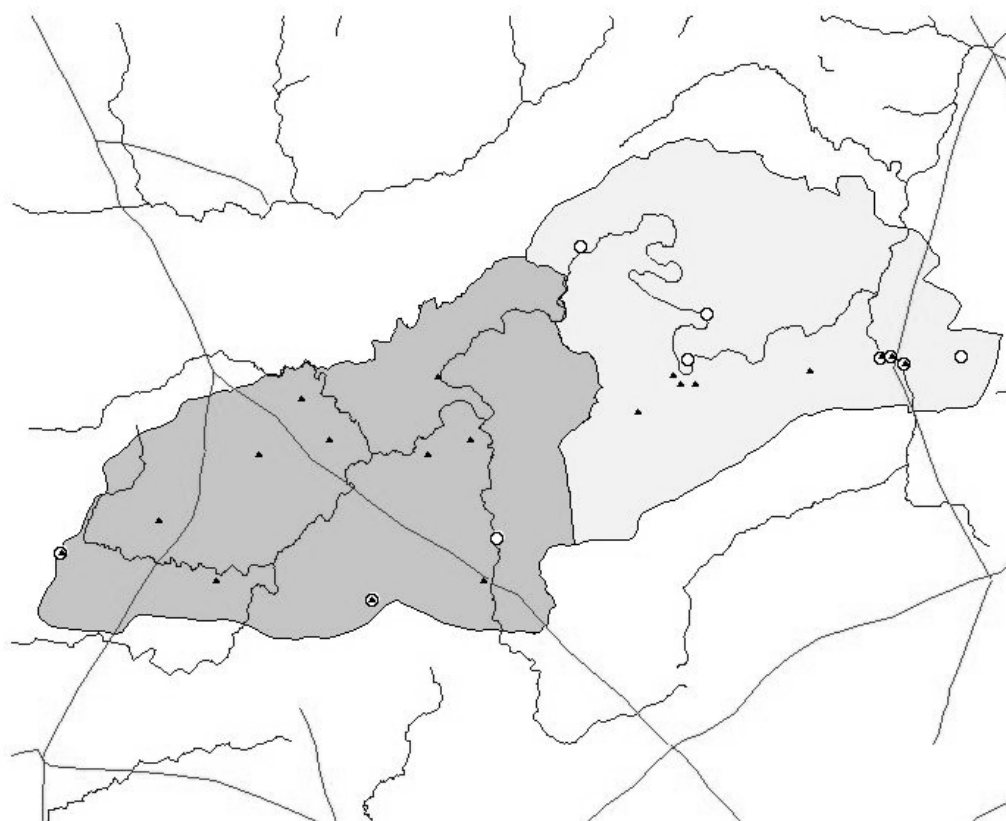


Fig 6.25 Gallo-Belgic and early British coins

- GB
- ▲ British

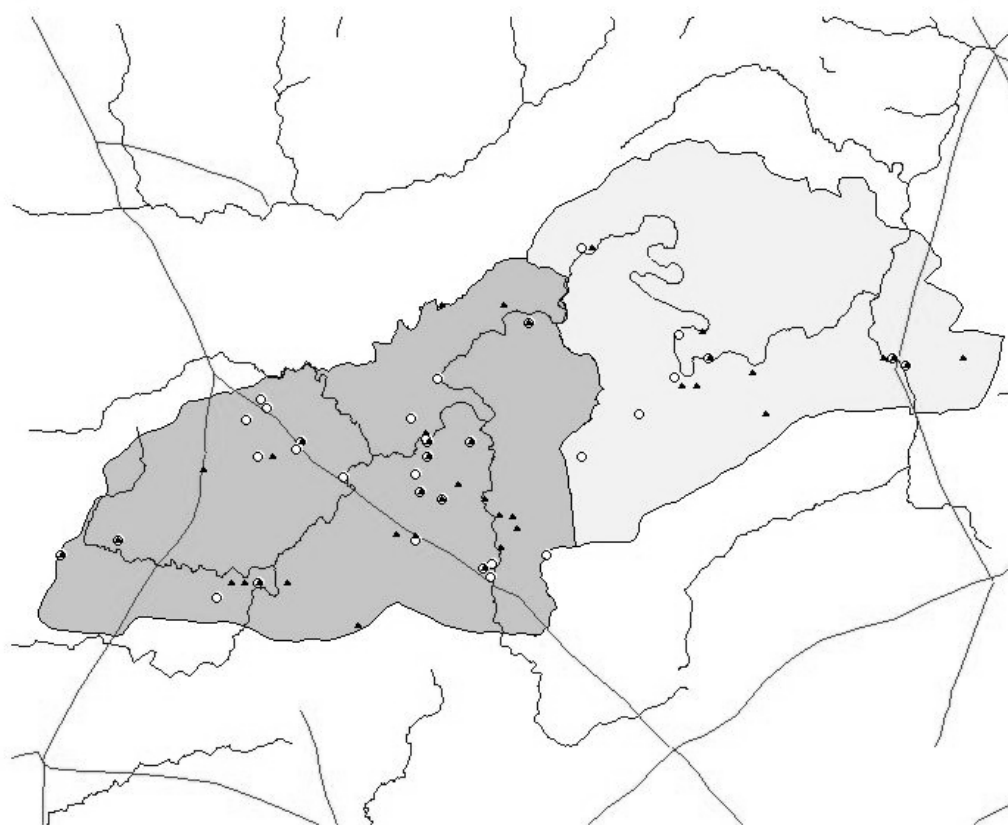


Fig 6.26 South-east coins

- Early South-east
- ▲ Later South-east

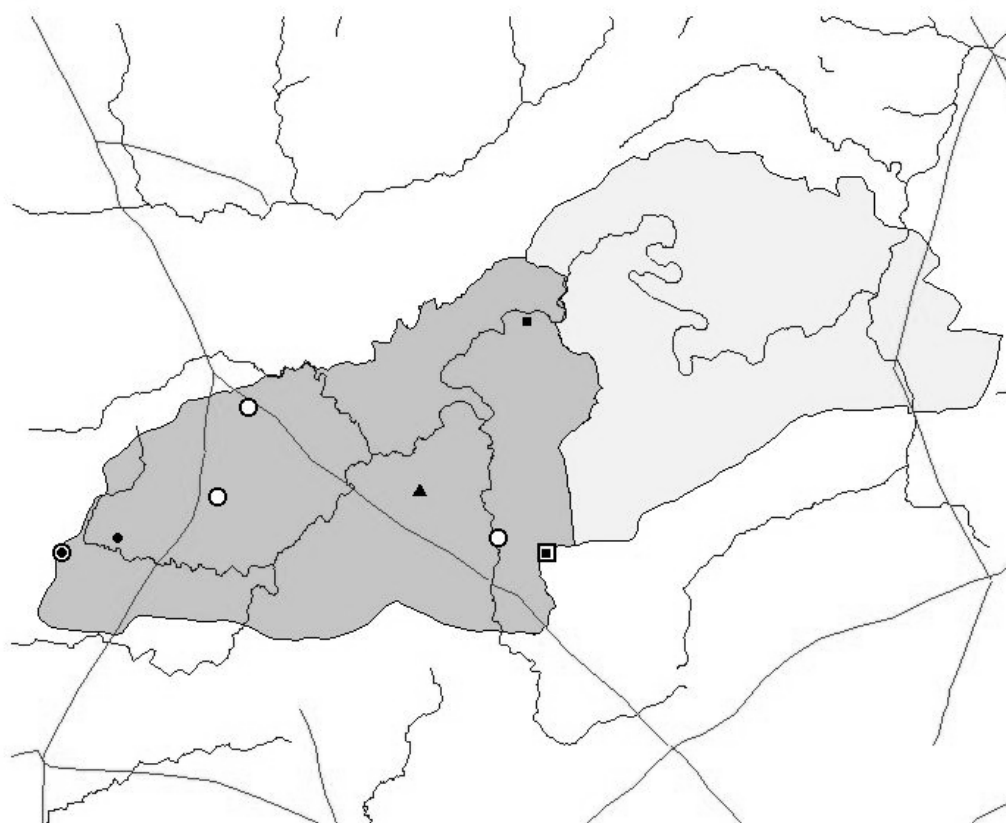


Fig 6.27 'Foreign' coins

- ▲ South-west
- East Anglian
- South
- North-east
- West

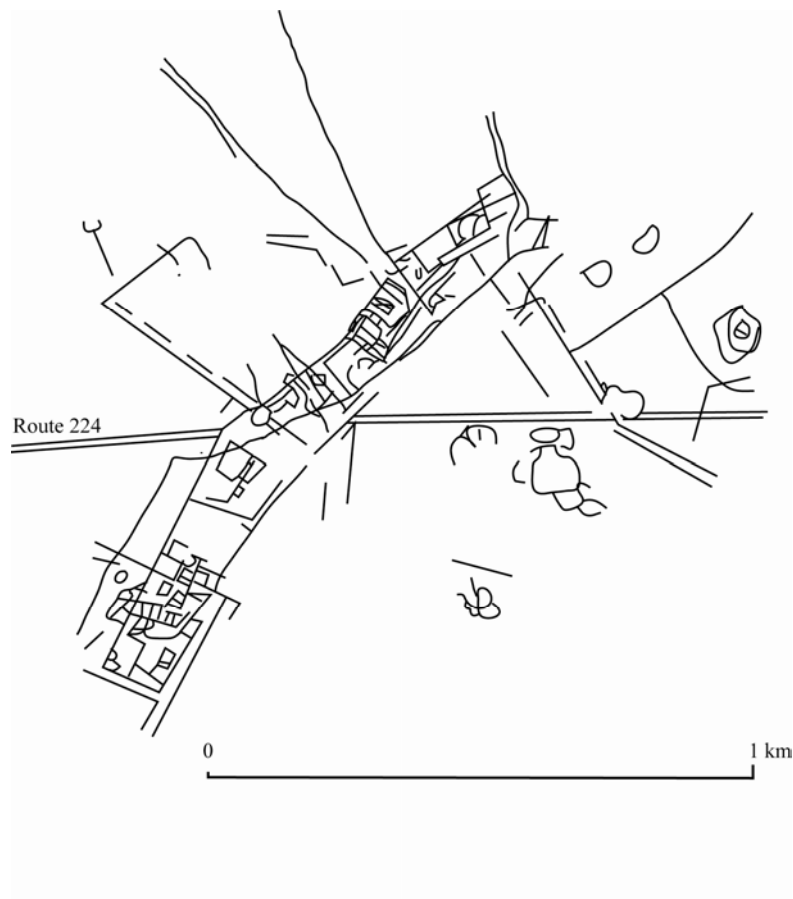


Fig 6.28 Willington/Cople, the cropmark showing Viatores Route 224

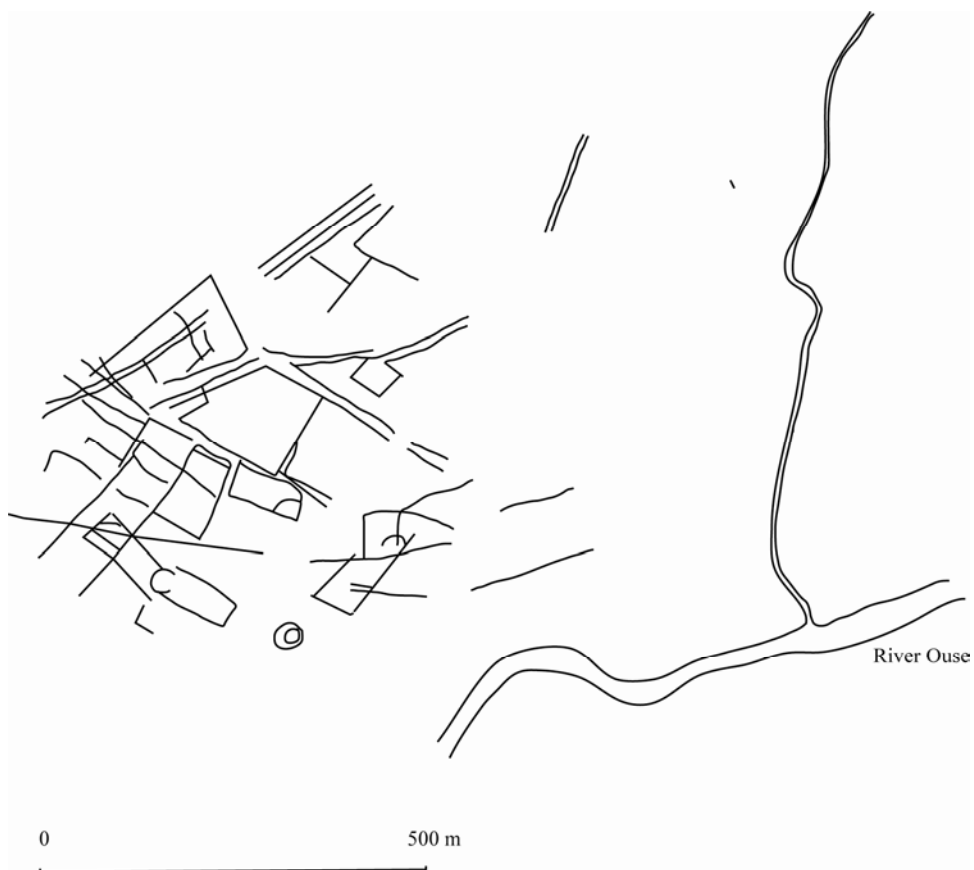


Fig 6.29 Ashfurlong, Olney (the cropmark)

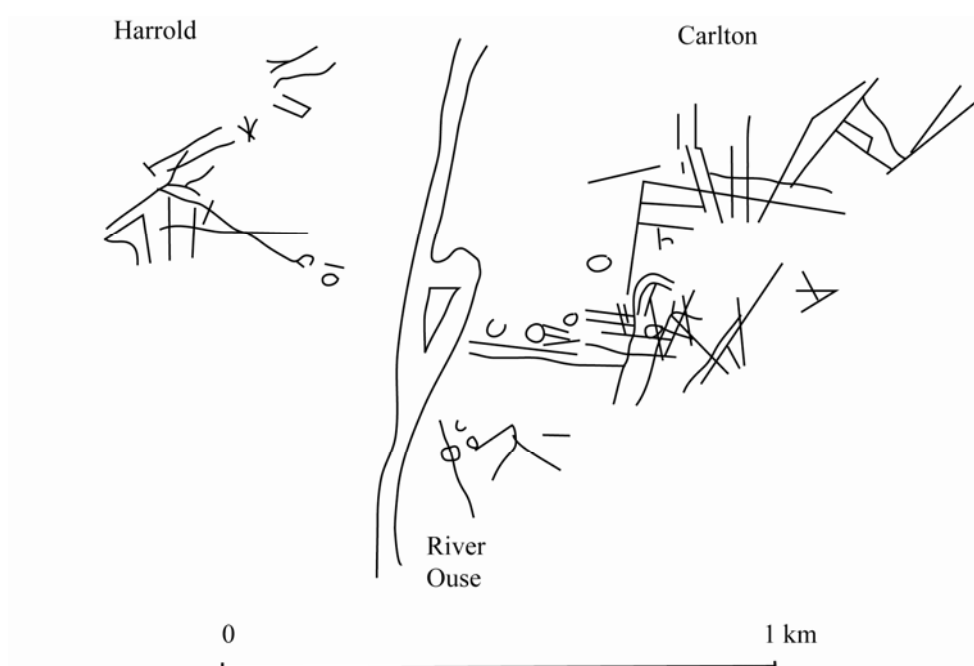


Fig 6.30 Harrold and Carlton (the cropmark, showing tracks leading towards the Ouse)

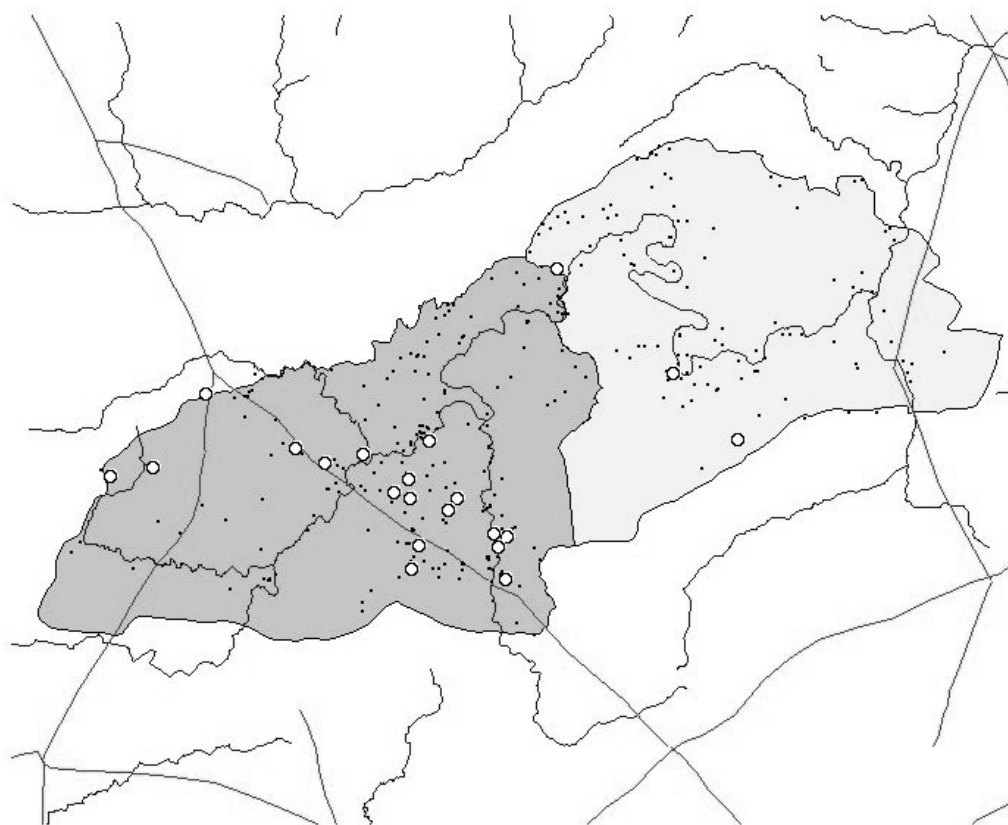


Fig 6.31 **Distribution of soft pink grog ware**

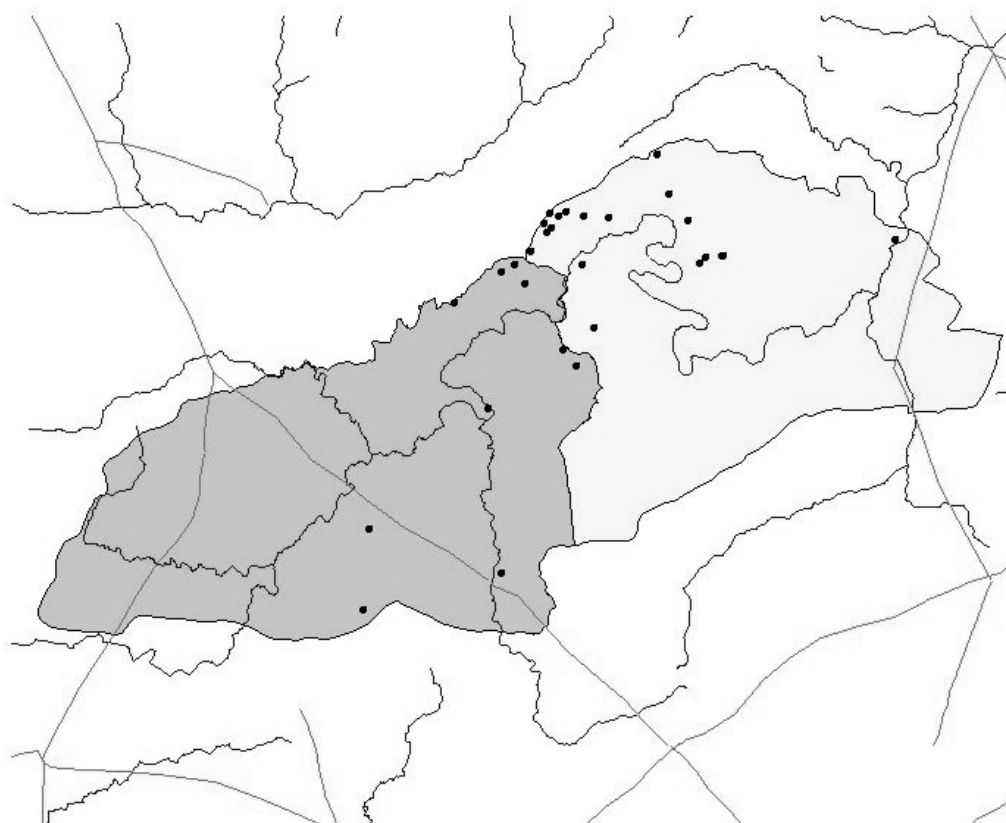


Fig 6.32 **Distribution of iron slag**

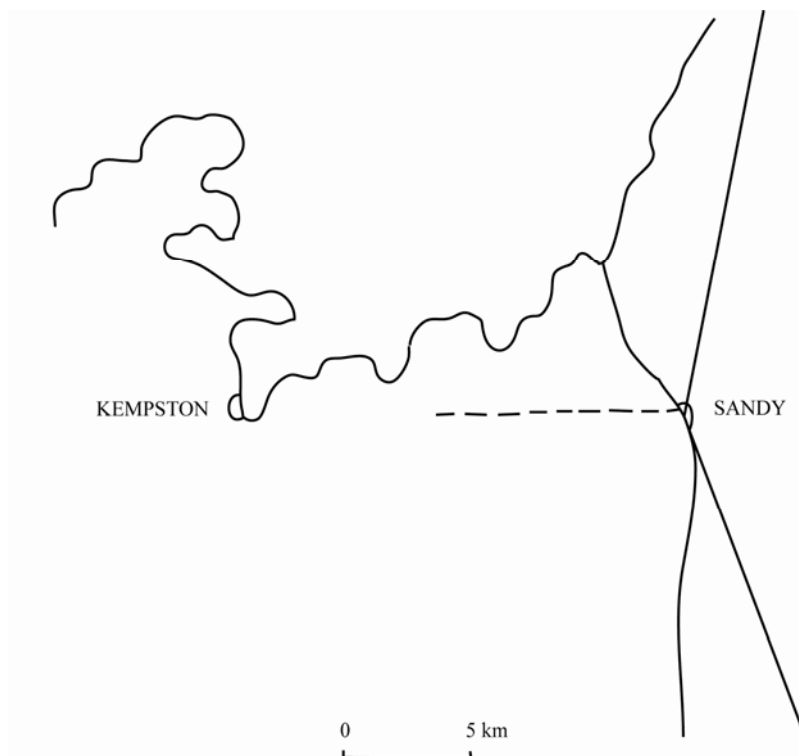


Fig 8.1 Route 224 and Kempston, showing possible link with Sandy

Appendix 2 Tables

General references to Level 2 sites are to be found in Appendix 3 (Gazeteer), and the more specific are listed here. For tables relating to Chapter 6, text in *italics* relates to Level 2 sites, and in normal font, to Level 3 sites. In the case of Level 3 sites, if no reference is given, information was derived from SMRs. Tables not listed here are to be found in the text.

Table 3.1 List of parishes

Bedfordshire	Milton Keynes Unitary Authority	Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire
Aspley Guise	Bletchley	Beachampton
Aspley Heath	Bow Brickhill	Biddlesden
Astwood	Bradwell	Buckingham
Bedford	Bradwell Abbey	Castlethorpe
Biddenham	Broughton	Deanshanger
Bletsoe	Calverton	Foscott
Blunham	Chicheley	Gawcott
Bolnhurst and Keysoe	Clifton Keynes	Great Horwood
Bromham	Cold Brayfield	Leckhampstead
Cardington	Emberton	Lillingstone Dayrell
Carlton and Chellington	Fenny Stratford	Little Horwood
Clapham	Gayhurst	Maids Moreton
Colmworth	Great Linford	Padbury
Cople	Great Woolstone	Paulerspury
Cranfield	Hanslope	Radclive-cum-Chackmore
Eastcotts	Hardmead	Shalstone
Elstow	Haversham-cum-Little Linford	Stowe
Felmersham	Lathbury	Thornborough
Great Barford	Lavendon	Thornton
Harrold	Little Brickhill	Tingewick
Houghton Conquest	Little Woolstone	Turweston
Hulcote and Salford	Loughton	Whaddon
Husborne Crawley	Milton Keynes	Wicken
Kempston Rural	Moulsoe	
Kempston Urban	Newport Pagnell	
Knotting and Souldrop	Newton Blossomville	
Little Barford	North Crawley	
Marston Moretaine	Old Stratford	
Milton Ernest	Olney	
Northill	Ravenstone	
Oakley		

Bedfordshire	Milton Keynes Unitary Authority	Northamptonshire
Odell	Shenley Brook End	Cosgrove
Pavenham	Shenley Church End	Evenley
Ravensden	Sherington	Grafton Regis
Ridgemont	Simpson	Potterspury
Roxton	Stantonbury	Water Stratford
Sandy	Stoke Goldington	Whittlebury
Potton	Stony Stratford	Yardley Gobion
Sharnbrook	Tattenhoe/Westbury	Silverstone
Stagsden	Tyringham with Filgrave	Syresham
Stevington	Walton	
Stewartby	Warrington	Oxfordshire
Tempsford	Water Eaton	Finmere
Thurleigh	Wavendon	Mixbury
Turvey	Weston Underwood	
Willington	Willen	
Wilstead	Wolverton	
Wootton	Woolstone cum Willen	
	Woughton on the Green	

Table 3.3 Classification and characterisation

Classification		Characterisation	
1	Settlement	1	Village, town, hamlet: more than one dwelling and ancillary buildings
		2	Villa: 6-10 items architectural elaboration listed below ¹
		3	Farmstead: 3-5 items of architectural elaboration
		4	Farmstead: ceramic building material only
		5	Native materials and form
		6	Possible settlement: 2 or more of items listed ²
		7	Stone or stone-founded roundhouse with or without other items
		8	Other activity (ie agricultural enclosures)
2	Industry	1	Pottery: evidence of kiln/kiln furniture
		2	Iron slag, in association with other IA/RB activity
		3	Undated iron slag
		4	Charcoal
		5	Other metal working
3	Religious or ritual	1	Possible ritual enclosure
		2	IA shrine
		3	RB temple
		4	Ritual pit or deposit
		5	Well with possible ritual use
		6	Religious/ceremonial item
4	Burial	1	Inhumation
		2	Cremation
		3	Inhumation cemetery ³
		4	Cremation cemetery
		5	No information (old record)
		6	Ritualised burial
		7	Other
5	Cropmark	1	Ring ditch
		2	Pit alignment
		3	Enclosures of LIA/RB type
		4	Other
		5	Road or track
6	Random find ⁴		
7	Road/transport	1	Road remains firmly identified
		2	Putative road
		3	Possible bridge
		4	Possible ford
		5	Possible quay

Classification		Characterisation	
8	Uncertain		
9	Earthworks	1	Prehistoric hillfort
		2	Roman fort
		3	Other
10	Hoard	1	Coins
		2	Other
0	Finds associated with site classification, under same SMR number		

¹Presence of building materials (flue, hypocaust, floor, roof tiles; glass, especially window; wall plaster; mosaic or tesserae; opus signinum); obvious 'villa' layout; stone foundations, even if structure is of native materials; baths; imported items

²Pits, ditches, dense pot and/or tile scatter, metal items, settlement enclosures

³Cemetery: more than 3 burials

⁴Unassociated with other site/finds (ie more than 100m away).

Table 3.7 Fabrics chart for Milton Keynes and Bedfordshire

Period of use	Fabric description	Bedfordshire (Albion and BCAS series)	Milton Keynes (Marney 1989)	Fabric source*
MIA onwards	IA fabrics	F01-F04 F14-F17 F19 - F21 F27-28 F30, F33, F35	901 – 935	L
LIA onwards	Shell tempered (Harrold, usually Handmade) F07A (wheelmade, Belgic type)	F07 F07A	1a/1b (hand and wheel- made)	L
‘Belgic’ types	Grog tempered Fine versions	F06 F06A, F10 R35	46 46A	L
	Grog and shell	F05/F08	45	L
	Grog and sand	F09	-	L
	Sand tempered	F34, F11	47	L
RB (coarse) (some continue from LIA)	Buff shell tempered Early Harrold (wheel- made)	F24 R13	1a/1b	
	Sand/quartz/greyware	R06B R05 (orange sandy) R15/R16	3, 9, 12, 14(some), 19, 29, 32, 47, 28	L
	Shell/grog	F05/F08	45	L
	Grog (inc Caldecotte)	F06	46	L
	BB1 (Black-burnished)	R07A/E	8	R
	Soft pink grog	R09A/B	2	L
	Sandy blackware	R07B or D?	43	L
	Other coarseware	R05A (orange sandy) R15 (sandy)		L
	Black micaceous	R08		L
RB (fine)	Greywares (Upper Nene)	R06C/R06A (2 nd c onwards)	14 (some), 14/33	R
	Oxidised (Upper Nene + Biddlesden)		17	R

Period of use	Fabric description	Bedfordshire (Albion and BCAS series)	Milton Keynes (Marney 1989)	Fabric source*
	White and Pink (Herts) Inc. Cream Ware from <i>Verulamium</i>	R03B R03 R03A (Hackley) R03C	18g 39	R
	Colour-coat (Lower Nene) (3 rd - 4 th c)	R12B	6	R
	Lower Nene greyware	R06A	12	R
	Much Hadham	R22A/B	36, 37	R
	Oxfordshire parchment (fine)	R11C	5	R
	Oxfordshire colour-coats	R11D	24	R
	Oxfordshire oxidised	R11	35	R
	Oxfordshire whiteware	R11A	5	R
	Oxford mortaria	R11E, F	4a, 6a, 6ag	R
	Mica-dusted/gilded	R02	34	R
	Other regional fabrics		13, 31, 23, 15 (London ware), 25/30 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44	R
Fine imports	Samian (C Gaul) S Gaul <i>Terra Nigra</i>	R01A R01B R26	20	C
	Rhenish (c.coated)	R04A	7	C
	Fine white Gallo-Belgic	R04B		C
Coarse imports (mortaria)	Nene Valley <i>Verulamium</i> Mancetter/Hartshill Local to MK	R12A R33 R20	4f 4g 4c 4e (some)	R R L
Coarse imports (amphora)	Dr20	R19A	22	C

* L= local, R= regional import, C= continental import.

Sources:

Albion 2002a and 2002b; Anthony 2003; Booth and Green 1989; Dawson 1988; Dawson 2000a; Edgeworth 2001; Ivens *et al* 1995; Marney 1989; Shotcliff and Crick 1999; Slowikowski and Dawson 1993; Stead and Rigby 1986; Taylor 2004; Williams *et al* 1996.

Table 3.12 Field survey

Location and Background info	Finds
<p>Northfield Farm, Great Barford, Beds TL 511539.</p> <p>About a mile to the north of the Ouse. Fieldwalked with Stephen Coleman, Beds County Council, in November 2002.</p> <p>Site of a large complex cropmark, possibly a LIA-RB occupation site.</p> <p>Likely date of site from these finds is second to fourth century</p>	NVCC (c150 – late third century). Flanged bowl or pie dish, of earlier, finer type.
	Barbotine from Trier (or mock barbotine), second or third century
	Harrold ware, 2 nd to early 4 th century, earlier type - red shelly ware
	Harrold ware, dating to after 360, later type black shelly, with hooked bead (rim)
	Grey wares, late 1 st century onwards, local
	Samian (C.Gaul), early second century, form 18/31
	Oxfordshire red CC, Late 3 rd and 4 th century
<p>Ashfurlong, Olney SP 892526</p> <p>Ceramics collected in autumn and winter from footpath in field adjacent to the Scheduled Monument site, over a number of years.</p> <p>This is a LIA/RB settlement/village, as shown by cropmarks, and limited excavation in the 1960s/70s.</p> <p>There were other 4th c fabrics present. This assemblage therefore confirms date range of 1st to 4th century (LIA-RB).</p>	Grog tempered, Fabric 46, LIA/Belgic, first century
	Harrold ware, channel-rimmed. This particular form is transitional between LIA and Roman, date AD 50-150.
	Harrold ware, earlier type red shelly ware (2 nd to early 4 th century)
	Black, glittery, micaceous ware (undated)
	NVCC, 150- late 3 rd century, finer type
	NVCC, 4 th century: this later colour-coat is thicker and coarser than the earlier versions
	Parchment ware, indented beaker, up to AD 250
	Parchment ware, white with red coat (could be Oxfordshire or Nene Valley) 3 rd and 4 th century
	Grey wares, later first century onwards, including a lattice patterned piece, 2 nd c.
	Samian (Central Gaul), early 2 nd century, Form 31
	Oxfordshire red/brown fabric, late third century, a beaker
	Oxfordshire red cc, 270-400 – a copy of samian Form 36
	Soft pink grog, second to fourth century
<p>Blackfurlong, Ravenstone, Bucks SP 845503</p> <p>Site excavated in 1960s. Said to be a corn-drying oven, but the plan looked more like a section of a (domestic) hypocaust.</p> <p>Date range of these fabrics is therefore 1st to 4th century, suggesting occupation here during that period.</p>	Grog tempered, first century. Fabric 46, LIA/ERB
	Grey wares, late first century onwards
	Samian, early second century, Form 18/31
	Oxfordshire red, micaceous, copy of samian 45 mortarium, 3 rd -4 th c.
	Nene Valley colour-coated, 4 th c
	Mancetter (white) mortarium, date between AD 150 and 400.
	Harrold ware, third century
	Soft pink grog, 2 nd to 4 th century, pottery, flue and roof tile
<p>Woodlands Farm, Weston Underwood, Bucks SP 860529</p>	Iron Age (mid, late) fabrics: coarse and hand made. Up to AD 50.
	Grog tempered, first c AD, Fabric 46, LIA
	Harrold ware, 2 nd to early 4 th century

Several small sites here, thought to be of LIA and RB date. No excavation undertaken, or cropmarks known.	Oxfordshire red ware, 3 rd and 4 th century
	White ware, 2 nd to 4 th century, mortarium of reeded flanged type
	Grey wares, late first century onwards
	Soft pink grog, tile or thick pottery, 2 nd to 4 th century

Table 4.6 LIA buildings

Location/site	Description	Internal diameter (metres)
MK		
Bancroft mausoleum	Roundhouse 236	10-12
Potterspury	At least one roundhouse	9
Silverstone Fields Farm	3 possible roundhouses	10
*Foxley Fields Farm, Finmere	At least 6 roundhouses	—
Cranborne Avenue, Westcroft	One roundhouse	10
*Stanton Low	5 roundhouses	6.7, 3.5, 6
BD		
West Stagsden	Roundhouse G25	11
East Stagsden (Phases 3/4)	Roundhouses G1, G3 and G4	11, 12, 10
Marston Moretaine	Possible roundhouse drip gully	15
Harrold Pit, Odell	2 roundhouses, each rebuilt twice	10-12
Marsh Leys Area 1	2 roundhouses	9
Biddenham F5	Roundhouses G114 and G86	8.4, 6.5
Ursula Taylor	One porched roundhouse	10
*Stagsden Golf Course	3 roundhouses	—
Warren Villas	Small rectangular post-built structure	4 x 3 m

* These sites were not used in the Level 2 LIA analysis, but were used for the RB analysis.

Table 4.7 Sites with both round and rectangular buildings

Date	Location	Type present
1 st c RB	Stanton Low	Round and square
2 nd c	Potterspury	Round and rectangular
	<i>Magiovinium</i> Site 17	Round and rectangular
	Woughton (MK297)	Round and rectangular
	Bancroft villa	Round and rectangular
3 rd c only	Bancroft villa	Round and rectangular
3 rd /4 th c	Bancroft villa	Round and rectangular
	Stantonbury	Round and rectangular
	Kempston (BD)	Round and rectangular

Table 4.8 First century (R) rectangular buildings

Site	Description
Bourton Grounds, Thornborough	Building F9, an L-shaped building of at least 8m by 4m. Post-built and possibly constructed of timber sill and split timbers (Johnston 1975: 8).
Stanton Low, phase 1.vii.	Beneath Building 2 (of late 1st c or early 2nd c date) were located 1m of walling, a post pad, and traces of additional walling, indicating an earlier rectangular structure of first century date (Woodfield 1989: 154).
Biddenham F5, G539	An alignment of four postholes, possibly representing the foundations of a rectangular structure (Luke in prep).
Biddenham F6/8, G382	A small post-built building, surrounded by a ditch, and some 300 metres away from the farmsteads, described as a shrine (5.3.7) (Luke in prep).
Marsh Leys Area 1	An area 7m wide, surrounded by a gully, and containing 2 possible postholes, is thought to have represented a square building, with a possible ritual purpose (5.3.7) (Albion 2002b: 22)

Table 4.9 Third and fourth century sites with roundhouses

	3 rd century & 3 rd / 4 th c	Site type	Material	4 th c only	Site type	Material
MK	Fenny Lock	1	Stone-founded	Bancroft mausoleum	6	Stone
	Potterspury	1	Timber	Wavendon Gate	2	Timber
	Wavendon Gate	2	Timber	Stantonbury	4	Stone
	Bancroft villa (Building 12)	4	Stone			
BD	West Stagsden	1	Stone-founded	Kempston	3	Stone and Stone-founded

Table 4.11 Stone buildings

Location (MK unless stated)	Site type	Date	Round	Rect	Material
Stanton Low	4	Late 1 st - 2 nd c		X	Stone and stone-founded
Blacklands Gayhurst	1	Late 1 st - early 2 nd c	X		Stone
Stantonbury	1	Early 2 nd c	X (2)		Stone
	1	Late 2 nd c		X	Stone
	4	3 rd - 4 th c	X	X	Stone
Holne Chase	1	Early 2 nd c		X	Stone
Wymbush	1	Late 2 nd c		X	Stone
Cosgrove	5	Late 2 nd c		X	Stone
Kempston (BD)	3	2 nd c		X	Stone-founded
Bancroft villa	4	2 nd c	X	X	Stone
		3 rd c	X		Stone
		4 th c		X	Stone
Bancroft mausoleum	12	Late 2 nd c		X	Stone
	6	4 th c	X		Stone
Thornborough Temple	6	3 rd c		X	Stone
West Stagsden (BD)	1	3 rd c	X		Stone-founded
Kempston (BD)	3	3 rd c		X	Stone (and stone-founded polygonal shrine)
	3	4 th c	X		Stone-founded
Monkston	1	3 rd - 4 th c		X	Stone-founded
Sherwood Drive	1	3 rd - 4 th c		X	Stone-founded and stone
Fenny Lock	1	3 rd - 4 th c	X		Stone-founded
Sandy Municipal Cemetery (BD)	3	4 th c		X	Stone-founded

Table 4.16 IA and LIA fabric types

Area		IA%	LIA%	IA forms present	Hand-made present	Assemblage types
MK	Bancroft mausoleum (cremations)	0	100	0	0	2
	Downs Barn	0	100	0	25	1
	Hartigans	0	100	0	0	1
	Walton	0	100	0	0	3
	Potterspury	0	100	p	90	1
	Bancroft mausoleum (domestic)	22	78	p	p	2
	Cranborne Avenue, Westcroft	99	1	p	99	1
	Stanton Low	p	p	p	50	3
	Wavendon Gate (phase 2a/b)	100	0	0	100	3
BD	East Stagsden (phase 3 kiln G10)	0	100	0	100	1
	Harrold Pit Odell	0	100	0	0	2
	Marsh Leys Areas 1 and 2	1	99	0	35	3
	West Stagsden (phase 2)	2	98	0	p	3
	Wilstead	2	98	0	46	3
	East Stagsden (phase 4 kilns)	4	96	0	100	1
	Biddenham Loop F5 and F6	5	95	0	p	3
	Clapham, Ursula Taylor School	7	93	0	p	2
	Marston Moretaine, Beancroft Rd	19	81	0	p	2
	East Stagsden (phase 3)	30	70	0	p	2
	East Stagsden (phase 4 burial)	40	60	0	79	2
	Norse Road, Bedford (Phase 3)	35	65	p	p	3
	East Stagsden (phase 4)	66	34	p	86	2

Table 4.17 Fabric tempers

Area	Assemblage	Grog	Shell	Grog and shell	Grog and sand
MK	Potterspury	p	p	0	0
	Bancroft mausoleum cremations	100	0	0	0
	Bancroft mausoleum (domestic)	49	31	20	0
	Downs Barn	55	45	0	0
	Hartigans	p	p	0	0
	Walton	3	97	0	0
	Stanton Low	p	p	0	p
BD	West Stagsden	7	86	2	5
	East Stagsden Ph 3	47	43	9	1
	East Stagsden Ph 3 Kiln	2	85	13	0
	East Stagsden Ph 4	70	27	3	0
	East Stagsden Ph 4 burial	55	38	7	0
	East Stagsden Ph 4 Kiln	5	95	0	0
	Marston Moretaine	44	0	31	25
	Marsh Leys	41	36	9	14
	Biddenham Loop Farmsteads 5/6	37	19	9	35
	Ursula Taylor School	59	29	6	6
	Wilstead	24	53	10	13
	Norse Road	49	18	17	15
	Harrold Pit Odell	100	0	0	0

Table 4.18 IA ceramics in RB context

Site	Site type	Date	%
Norse Road	1	2 nd c	9
West Stagsden	1	2 nd c	2
East Stagsden Phase 5	1	Earlier 2 nd c	14
East Stagsden Phase 6	1	Later 2 nd c	5
Kempston Church End	3	2 nd c	2
“	3	3 rd c	1
“	3	4 th c	1

Table 4.19 LIA continental imports

Site	Detail	Context
Bancroft mausoleum	<i>Terra rubra</i> girth beaker <i>Terra nigra</i> sherds (Williams and Zeepvat 1994: 401)	Cremation 8 Enclosure ditch (both of LIA date)
Monkston	Gallo-Belgic white ware flagon and beaker Four imported vessels, including <i>terra rubra</i> , <i>terra nigra</i> and Lyons ware (Davis and Bull 2004: 58).	Cremation 2360 (LIA) Cremation 2359 (1 st c R)
Caldecotte MK44	Gallo-Belgic vessel of cream fabric (Zeepvat <i>et al</i> 1994: 187).	Second century
Wavendon Gate	Two Gallo-Belgic butt beaker rims in cream ware (Williams <i>et al</i> 1996: 189).	Late 1 st c to early 2nd. These dated from an earlier period, and had perhaps been curated
Marston Moretaine	A few sherds of Gallo-Belgic white ware (Shotcliff and Crick 1999: 37)	Rubbish pit
East Stagsden	Part of a Gallo-Belgic white ware flagon of pre-conquest date (Dawson 2000a: 54).	Phase 5 (1 st c R to early 2c), in isolated Pit 923.
West Stagsden	Part of Gallo-Belgic white vessel, possibly butt beaker (Dawson 2000a: 19).	Third century pit (266)

Table 4.20 First century (R) samian imports

Site	Details	Reference
MK		
Silverstone Fields Farm	Enclosure ditch: sherds of samian.	Mudd 2002: 33
Silverstone SL2	Enclosure ditch: 2 sherds samian.	Mudd 2002: 34
Bancroft mausoleum	Enclosure ditch: Neronian/Vespanianic samian	Williams and Zeepvat 1994:73
Hartigans	Ditch 55: Neronian/Vespanianic samian	Williams 1993: 239
Constantine Way (near Bancroft villa)	Ditch: 5 sherds late 1 st c samian	Marney 1989: 12
Thornborough Road site (Bourton Grounds)	5 late first century cremations contained samian	Johnson 1975: 15
Wavendon Gate	Claudian/Neronian samian present	Williams <i>et al</i> 1996: 197
BD		
Keeley Lane Wootton	Ditch F2: part of samian plate base	Pollard and Baker 1999: 94
Biddenham Loop F8	Samian sherds	Luke in prep
Bromham	Sherds of Flavian samian	Tilson 1973: 24
Harrold Kiln Phase 2	Samian present in kiln fill	Brown 1994: 47
Harrold Pit, Odell	Samian present	Curteis 2001: 191

Table 4.21 Sites which received samian (2nd to 4th centuries)

	MK		BD	
	Site	Site type	Site	Site type
2nd c	A43 Bypass, Syresham	2	Sandy, Engayne Way	1
	Fenny Lock	1	Norse Road	1
	Potterspury	1	Kempston	3
	Caldecotte Mill Close	7	Wilstead	1
	Berrystead Close Caldecotte	1	Warren Villas	2
	Wavendon Gate	2	West Stagsden	1
	Westbury	1	Harrold Kiln	2
	Fenny Stratford (<i>Magiovinium</i>)	3	East Stagsden	1
	Bancroft villa	4		
	Loughton Valley	1		
	Woughton	1		
	Bancroft mausoleum	12		
	Stanton Low	4		
	Saxon Street	1		
3rd c	Thornborough Temple	6	Roxton	2
	Fenny Stratford	3	Harrold Pit Odell	1
	Bancroft villa	4	Harrold Kiln	2
	Potterspury	1	Radwell	1
	Wavendon Gate	2	Kempston	3
	Walton	1	West Stagsden	1
	Cosgrove	5		
4th c			Harrold Kiln	2
			Bletsoe cemetery	8
			Kempston	3

Table 4.22 Types of drinking vessels

	MK		BD	
LIA	Bancroft mausoleum	Cup, beaker, pedestal bowl	Clapham	Beaker, flagon
	Saffron Gardens	Cup, pedestal bowl, beaker	Marsh Leys	Beaker, pedestal urn
	Wavendon	Beaker	Biddenham F5/6	Pedestal urn, pedestal bowl, cup, beaker
	Walton	Cup, beaker	West Stagsden	Beaker, cup
	Monkston	Beaker, flagon	Bromham	Pedestal urn, pedestal bowl, beaker, cup
			Odell Pit, Harrold	Cup, pedestal bowl
			East Stagsden	Beaker
1st c (R)	Thornborough Road	Beaker, pedestal urn	Keeley Lane Wootton	beaker
	Fenny Lock	Flagon, beaker	Harrold Kiln	Beaker, cup
	Caldecotte	Beaker, cup, pedestal urn		
	Bancroft Maus	Flagon, beaker, cup		
	Bancroft Villa	Flagon, beaker		
	Hartigans	Flagon, beaker, cup		
	Wavendon	Beaker, cup, pedestal urn		
	Westbury	cup		
	Cotton Valley	Cup, beaker, flagon		
	Constantine Way	Beaker, flagon		

Table 4.23 Location of amphorae

		Site type	2c	3c	4c
MK	Stanton Low	4	X		
	<i>Magiovinium</i> (Fenny Stratford Bypass)	3	X		
	Bancroft mausoleum	12	X		
	Cosgrove	5	X	X	
	Westbury	1	X		
	Woughton	1	X		
BD	Sandy	3	X	X	
	West Stagsden	1		X	
	Kempston	3	X	X	X
	Wilstead	1	X		
	Warren Villas	2	X		

Table 4.24 Location of mortaria

Site	Site type	1 st c R	Early 2 nd c	Other 2 nd c	3 rd c	4 th c
MK						
Woughton	1		X	X		
Bancroft villa	4		X	X	X	X
Constantine Way (nr Bancroft villa)	1	X				
Saxon Street	1			X		
Westbury	1			X		
Brackley Hatch (A43)	1			X		
Syresham (A43)	2			X		
Fenny Lock	1			X		
Caldecotte, Berrystead Close	1		X	X		
Potterspury	1				X	
Walton	1				X	
Bradwell Abbey Barn	1				X	
Cosgrove	5			X	X	
Finmere	1				X	
Thornborough Temple	6				X	
<i>Magiovinium</i> (Fenny Stratford Bypass)	3				X	
Silverstone Great Ouse Culvert	1				X	X
Wavendon Gate	2			X	X	X
Stanton Low	4		X	X		
Wymbush	1			X		
BD						
Wilstead	1			X		
Warren Villas	2			X		
Norse Road	1			X		
Harrold Kiln	2			X	X	X
Kempston	3			X	X	X
Roxton	2				X	
Harrold Pit Odell	1				X	
West Stagsden	1				X	
Radwell	1				X	
Bletsoe Cemetery	8					X

Table 4.26 Writing materials

Site (all MK except Harrold)	Type site	Find type	Description	References
<i>Magiovinium</i> 17	3	Seal box	Hinged base of circular seal box, pierced by 4 holes. Traces of replaced thread inside. Copper alloy.	Neal 1987: 44
<i>Magiovinium</i> 17	3	Seal box	Circular seal box lid with incised decoration around edge.	Neal 1987: 47
Bancroft villa	4	Stylus	4 iron styli, one incomplete, 3 rd c- 4 th c date	Williams and Zeepvat 1994: 342
Bancroft villa	4	Stylus case	Fragmentary	Mynard 1987: 138
Bancroft villa	4	Seal box	Seal box lid, florid openwork design. Said to be common in Rhine. 2 nd c.	Williams and Zeepvat 1994: 314
Stantonbury	4	Stylus	Iron	Mynard 1987: 138
Wood Corner MK	1	Stylus	Possibly a stylus	Mynard 1987: 136
<i>Magiovinium</i> , Fenny Stratford Bypass	3	Seal box	Base of lozenge-shaped seal box	Hunn <i>et al</i> 1997: 53
Harrold Kiln site (BD)	2	Stylus	Iron stylus, 4 th c	Brown 1994: 94
Caldecotte (Berrystead Close)	1	Stylus	Two styli, one iron, one bronze. 2 nd c to early 3 rd c	Zeepvat <i>et al</i> 1994: 144
Caldecotte (Berrystead Close)	1	Seal box	Ornate rectangular seal box, enamelled <i>millefiori</i> decoration	Zeepvat <i>et al</i> 1994: 145
Wavendon Gate	2	Seal box	Seal box lid, leaf shaped. Red/black/blue enamel, on bronze. Late 3 rd - 4 th c.	Williams <i>et al</i> 1996: 108
Wavendon Gate	2	Writing tablets	One, or possibly two, single-sided writing tablets. Wax remains on one. 3 rd c.	Williams <i>et al</i> 1996: 158

Table 4.27 Graffiti and tile stamps

Site	Type site	Description	Reference
Great Ouse Culvert, Silverstone	1	Pottery sherd, inscribed 'X'	Mudd 2002: 31
Wavendon Gate	2	Pottery sherd, inscribed 'IX'	Williams <i>et al</i> 1996: 33, 193
Bancroft mausoleum	6	Samian bowl, graffito cut in the footring, reading 'IRICV...', late or sub-Roman context	Williams and Zeepvat 1994: 361
Bancroft villa	4	Graffito on wall plaster.....AVIIV..	RIB 2447.42
Stanton Low	4	Tegula, stamped 'Avienus..' (Avienus?)	RIB 2489.7
Stanton Low	4	Part of a tegula, stamped '...NCA...'	RIB 2489.64
Stanton Low	4	Graffito on Samian dish, found in 4 th c context, reading 'CAS...', possibly 'DORCAS' (Greek name?)	RIB 2501.671
Wymbush	1	Graffito on tegula fragment of 3 rd c date, stating 'Good health to ...icianus, Primus and ... ellianus, us who make...'	RIB 2491.129
Kempston (BD)	3	Base of bowl inscribed with an 'X' (Phase 3: 2 nd – 3 rd c)	Dawson 2004: 457

Table 4.28 Lamps and lighting equipment

Site	Site type	Details
Thornborough Barrow	12	Bronze lamp, with a chain for hanging, found in the cremation burial (Liversidge 1954: 30)
<i>Magiovinium</i> Site 17	3	A fragment of a pottery lamp chimney (Neal 1987: 66)
Cosgrove	5	Triple candle holder, iron, possibly from temple (Quinnell 1991: 30-31)
Wavendon Gate	2	Iron open lamp and hanger, in 2 nd c cremation (Williams <i>et al</i> 1996: 123)
Bancroft villa	4	Copper alloy chains, could be used for hanging lamps, found in ditch fills Iron pendant candleholder, in surface deposit in enclosure (Williams and Zeepvat 1994: 315, 328)
Kempston	3	Iron candleholder, with 3 legs (4 th c), found in pit Also iron candleholder, spiked, found in foetus burial (3 rd c) (Dawson 2004: 380)

Table 4.29 Roman coins in the study area

Site type	Site	No. of coins	Reference
	MK		
2	Wavendon Gate	112	Zeepvat and Radford in prep
4	Bancroft villa	1038	“
12	Bancroft mausoleum	63	“
1	Wymbush	69	“
1	Little Woolstone	65	“
1	Wood Corner	67	“
1	Bourton Grounds, Thornborough (road site)	13	Johnson 1975: 41-2
6	Bourton Grounds, Thornborough (temple)	245	Green 1965: 361-2
1	Simpson MK309	77	Reece and Zeepvat 1994: 176-7
7	Mill Close MK117	3	<i>ibid</i>
1	Berrystead Close MK44	7	<i>ibid</i>
1	Simpson MK351	13	<i>ibid</i>
1	Mill Close South MK354	4	<i>ibid</i>
1	Monkston (all areas)	23 106	Excavated Metal-detected (Davis and Bull 2004: 65)
1	Great Ouse Culvert (A43)	13	Mudd 2002: 115-6
1	Brackley Hatch (A43)	3	Mudd 2002: 120
5	Cosgrove	61	Quinnell 1991: 27
1	Westbury-by-Shenley area	57 87	Excavated Metal-detected (Ivens <i>et al</i> 1995: 327)
1	Fenny Lock	239	Zeepvat and Radford in prep
4	Stantonbury MK301	30	Mynard 1987: 128
1	Sherwood Drive MK100	20	Mynard 1987: 127
4	Stanton Low	76	Mixture of surface finds, excavated and metal-detected (Woodfield 1989: 217)
1	Potterspury Redmoor Copse (adjacent to above site)	20 127	Excavated and metal-detected Metal-detected (Meek <i>et al</i> 2000: 36)
1	Windmill Hill	12	Mynard 1987: 126
	BD		
8	Bletsoe (from early excavation at ‘villa’ and cemetery site)	23	Dawson 1994: 4
1	East Stagsden	4	Dawson 2000a : 93
1	West Stagsden	1	Dawson 2000a : 98
2	Roxton	1	Taylor and Woodward 1983: 22
1	Radwell	2	Hall 1973: 72
1	Bromham	1	Tilson 1973: 29

Site type	Site	No. of coins	Reference
	BD		
2	Marsh Leys Areas 1 and 2	44	Albion 2002b: 65-67
2	Biddenham Loop F10/F14	5	Luke in prep
1	Wilstead	12	Albion 2002a: 36
1	Peartree Farm, Elstow	8	BCAS 1995b: 23
2	Harrold Kiln	139	Excavated and surface finds, up to Dec 1971(Brown 1994: 94)
2	Warren Villas	6	Dawson and Maull 1996; Curteis 2001: 195

Table 5.3 Isolated burials (in BD unless otherwise noted)

Date	Site name	Site type	Burial location
LIA	Saffron Gardens Bletchley (MK)	1	Decapitated inhumation in river bank, settlement nearby
	West Stagsden	1	Cremation in settlement
	East Stagsden	1	Infant inhumation in settlement
	Marston Moretaine	1	Inhumation in settlement
	Bromham	1	Inhumation in ditch, near settlement
	Biddenham Loop (F5)	1	2 cremations, in ditches, near settlement
	Biddenham Loop (F5)	1	Inhumation in shallow grave, near settlement
	Willington Quarry North	7	2 inhumations, one neonate, in enclosures either side of driveway
	Wyboston	1	Inhumation in settlement
	Monkston Area 3 (MK)	1	Cremation in field system within settlement
1st c R	Cotton Valley (MK)	7	Child cremation in field system. Aerial photos show a ring ditch here too.
	Windmill Hill (MK)	1	Cremation adjacent to rectangular structure, in settlement.
	Marsh Leys Area 2	2	Cremation in field systems
	Biddenham Loop F5	1	Cremation (356/G182) in field systems
	Biddenham Loop F8	1	Cremation (G133) in field systems
	Willington Redlands Quarry	7	Cremation by trackway in field system, settlement nearby.
	Wavendon Gate (MK)	1	8 cremations scattered around settlement
	Monkston Area 1 (MK)	1	Cremation in field systems
Early 2nd c	Sherwood Drive Bletchley (MK)	1	2 cremations
	Marsh Leys Area 1	2	2 inhumations, outside settlement
	Marsh Leys Area 2	2	2 inhumations: G31 – in enclosure, near domestic area, parallel to boundary. G75 – Away from settlement, near major boundary ditch.
	Marsh Leys Area 2	2	2 inhumations and 1 cremation in field systems.
	Biddenham Loop F13/14	2	2 small cremation deposits, in ditch fill and posthole. 3 isolated inhumations, in field systems, one adjacent to trackway.
2nd c	Caldecotte Mill Close (MK)	7	Cremation and inhumation in field systems
	Thornborough Barrow (MK)	6	High status barrow cremation
	Bancroft mausoleum (MK)	12	Cremation in ambulatory of mausoleum
3rd c	Roxton	2	Enclosure boundary cut ring ditch; one cremation and one inhumation found in ditch fills, either side of enclosure entrance.

Date	Site name	Site type	Burial location
	Willington Quarry North	7	Inhumation, near trackway where LIA burials found
	Radwell	1	2 cremations outside settlement
4 th c	Cosgrove (MK)	5	Inhumation in ambulatory of temple
	Fenny Stratford (<i>Magiovinium</i>) (MK)	3	Inhumation in field systems
	Mill Farm Cardington	7	2 inhumations, one in a coffin, in upper ditch fills of ring ditch
	Peartree Farm	1	2 inhumations, in field systems, and in settlement
	Bancroft mausoleum (MK)	6	Inhumation in substantial wooden coffin, in enclosure ditch

Table 5.4 Group burials

(MK unless otherwise stated)

Date	Site Name	Site type	Description
LIA	Monkston Area 2	1	Dispersed cremation cemetery, in settlement enclosure, possibly respecting ditch.
	Bancroft mausoleum (into 1 st c R).	1	Well-organised, linear cremation cemetery, possibly bounded.
	Harrold Pit, Odell (BD)	1	2 small cemeteries, cremations grouped together, outside the farmstead.
	Harrold Meadway (BD)	1	Small cremation cemetery, some 15m from ring ditch
	Ivel Farm, Sandy (BD)	1	4 dispersed cremations, near settlement
	Ecks Lane South, Ivel Farm, Sandy (BD)	1	2 cremations, near settlement and near BA barrow
	Salford Quarry	2	5 cremations in line, between boundary ditches, settlement on other side of one boundary
	Biddenham Loop L20/L126 (BD)	1	Within farm enclosure, near boundary, two small cremation cemeteries.
1 st c R	Bourton Grounds, Thornborough	1	At least 7 cremations, placed in a circle in a small in a small ditched enclosure, possibly protected by a mound.
	Radwell (BD)	1	4 dispersed inhumations, in field system
	Marsh Leys Area 1 (BD)	2	2 small dispersed cremation cemeteries, located in settlement.
	Biddenham Loop L39 (BD)	1	16 cremations and pyre related feature confined to small area (G492)
	Biddenham Loop G493 (BD)	1	3 inhumations, near main cluster G492
	Stanton Low (late 1 st c to early 2 nd c)	4	At least 2 cremations, possibly aligned to boundary ditch, within the settlement.
	Deepdale, near Sandy (BD)	9	Organised, boundary ditch to west of cemetery containing at least 14 cremations.
	Monkston Area 1	1	3 cremations, in enclosure
	Monkston Area 2	1	1 cremation, close to LIA cremation cemetery
Early 2c	Kempston (BD)	2	Backyard burials, dispersed.
	Wavendon Gate	1	Cremations in cemetery in enclosure, within settlement.
	Great Brickhill	7	2 cremations, 2m apart, possibly part of small cemetery
2c	Westbury	1	2 pairs of 2 cremations, 35m apart, near field boundaries, settlement nearby
	<i>Magiovinium</i> Site 17 Areas 1 and 2	3	Dispersed cremation cemetery in each area, to east of Watling Street.

Date	Site Name	Site type	Description
	<i>Magiovinium</i> Site 17 Area 2 (later 2c)	3	9 inhumations in coffins, near cremation cemetery, suggests continuation of use.
	<i>Magiovinium</i> Site 17 Area 1 (later 2c)	3	8 infant burials in roadside ditch
	<i>Magiovinium</i> Site 18	3	4 groups of cremations in backyard plots, other cremations still dispersed.
Later 2c	Stanton Low eastern cemetery	4	Small inhumation cemetery just within settlement boundary.
3rd c	Kempston (BD)	3	Kempston: ditched boundary for cemetery
	Radwell (BD)	1	2 cremations, in fields near occupation.
	Wavendon Gate	2	Inhumation, possibly in coffin, near earlier cremation cemetery
3/4 c	Fenny Stratford (<i>Magiovinium</i>)	3	Dispersed cemetery, inhumations (also isolation inhumations at this time)
	Fenny Lock (near <i>Magiovinium</i>)	1	4 inhumations in dispersed cemetery between LIA and ERB boundary ditches. Also 2 cremations in this area.
	<i>Magiovinium</i> Site 17, Area 1	3	Earlier cemetery enlarged and laid out in more orderly manner
4th c	Kempston (BD)	3	Layout of cemetery reorganised
	Stanton Low western cemetery	4	Just outside settlement boundary (inhumations)
	Bletsoe (BD)	8	Formal organised inhumation cemetery
	Gayhurst Quarry	7	3 inhumations, one decapitated, in ditches of ring ditch/barrow

Table 5.5 Early inhumation burials

Date	MK	No.	BD	No.
LIA	Saffron Gardens, Bletchley (decapitated)	1	East Stagsden (neonate)	1
	Silverstone Fields Fm(infants)	5	Bromham (supine)	1
			Biddenham Loop F5, G519	1
			Wyboston (tightly contracted)	1
			Willington Quarry N (1 infant)	2
1 st c R			Radwell (supine, on one side, in or accompanied by, coffin/box)	4
			Biddenham Loop F8 G133 (supine, turned to one side)	1
Early 2 nd c			Marsh Leys Area 1 (one prone)	2
			Marsh Leys Area 2 (supine, turned to one side)	2
			Biddenham Loop F13/14 (including 1 infant)	3
	Totals	6		18

Table 5.6 Examples of possible exhumation

Date	BD	
LIA	Marsh Leys, Area 1: skull in roundhouse gully	
	Harrold Pit, Odell: a small grave near Cremation Cemetery 2 held only a human skull. 3 of the 6 cremations also had fragments of skulls carefully placed adjacent to cremation vessels.	
1 st c R	Marsh Leys, Area 1: rib fragment in ditch Marsh Leys, Area 2: long bone fragments. Both examples with domestic rubbish.	
	Harrold Pit, Odell: head and shoulders of female in well lining	
	MK	BD
2 nd c	Cosgrove: late second century temple had 2 skulls set into wall foundation near entrance	Biddenham Loop, Farmstead 14; posthole alignment near farmhouse contained tiny amount human skull.
3 rd c	Fenny Lock: scattered skull fragments of one or two individuals, dating to 3 rd or 4 th c.	Wilstead: 2 separate deposits of a few fragments of human bone in a water pit and a soil layer, along with other domestic rubbish.
	Thornborough Temple site: skull and long bones of one individual set in floor of entrance to temple verandah. Foundation deposit?	
	Monkston Area 2: possible ritual building contained a foot and a hand phalanx.	
4 th c	<i>Magiovinium</i> , Site 17, Area 1: two skulls buried in gully to north of organised cemetery.	

Figure 5.7 Accompanied and unaccompanied cremations (site type in brackets)

Date	Accompanied	Unaccompanied	Both
LIA	MK		
	Salford Quarry (2)		Bancroft mausoleum (1)
	Monkston Area 2 (1)		
	Monkston Area 3 (1)		
	BD		
	Odell Crem Cemetery 1 (1)	Ivel Farm Sandy (1)	Odell Crem Cem 2 (1)
	Biddenham F5 isolated cremes (1)	Harrold Meadway (1)	
	Marston Moretaine (1)	West Stagsden (1)	
	Ecks Lane South (1)	Biddenham (L20, L126) F5 (1)	
1st c R	MK		
	Thornborough Road (1)	Stanton Low (4)	Wavendon Gate (1)
	Bancroft mausoleum (1)	Cotton Valley (7)	
	Monkston Area 1 (1)		
	Monkston Area 2 (1)		
	Windmill Hill (1)		
	BD		
	Biddenham F5 (1)	Marsh Leys Area 2 (2)	Potton (9)
	Biddenham F9 (1)	Biddenham F8 (1)	Radwell (1)
	Willington Redlands Quarry (7)		Marsh Leys Area 1 (2)
			Biddenham F6 (1)
			Biddenham F8 (1)
2nd c	MK		
	Caldecotte Mill Close (7)	Great Brickhill (1)	<i>Magiovinium</i> Site 18 (3)
	Westbury (1)	Sherwood Drive (1)	Wavendon Gate (2)
	Monkston Area 1 (1)	<i>Magiovinium</i> Site 17 Area 1 (1)	
	Thornborough Barrow (12)	Bancroft mausoleum (12)	
	<i>Magiovinium</i> Site 17 Area 1 (3)		
	<i>Magiovinium</i> Site 17 Area 2 (3)		
	BD		
		Marsh Leys Area 2 (2)	Kempston (3)
		Biddenham Loop F13 (2)	

Table 5.8 Locations with burnt or broken grave goods

Date	Location	Site type	Detail
LIA	Biddenham F5 (BD)	1	Burnt pig bones in one cremation (L20)
	Bancroft mausoleum (MK)	1	Burnt pig in cremation
	East Stagsden (BD)	1	34 deliberately smashed pots in burial of neonate and foal
1 st c	Bancroft mausoleum (MK)	1	Burnt pig and melted fibula in two cremations
2 nd c	Biddenham F13/14 (BD)	2	Inhumation G146 had burnt and unburnt animal bone
	Marsh Leys Area 1(BD)	2	One pot, deliberately smashed, in Inhumation G14
	Kempston (BD)	3	Inh 3972, possibly deliberately broken needle
3 rd c	Fenny Lock (MK)	1	Cremation 4025, burnt chicken bone and iron nails, possibly remains of goods burnt on pyre
4 th c	Kempston (BD)	3	Inh 3934, possibly deliberately broken toilet instrument

Table 5.9 Locations with wooden boxes, caskets or coffin in burial

Date	MK	Site type	Details
1 st c	Bourton Grounds, Thornborough	1	One or two of 7 cremations were in small wooden boxes.
2 nd c	Wavendon Gate	2	Cremation 3, a high status cremation, in a casket with bronze fittings
	Thornborough Barrow	12	The cremation and grave goods were all covered by wooden planks
	<i>Magiovinium</i> Site 17 Area 1	3	Several cremations in small wooden boxes
	<i>Magiovinium</i> Site 17 Area 2	3	Several cremations in small wooden boxes, and several inhumations in wooden coffins (although LRB burials not in coffins)
	Stanton Low	4	11 inhumations in coffins
	Bancroft mausoleum	12	Cremation in ambulatory was in small box
3 rd c	Wavendon Gate	2	Isolated inhumation in coffin
4 th c	Wavendon Gate	2	2 out of 3 inhumations in coffins
	Bancroft mausoleum	6	Isolated burial in substantial wooden coffin
Date	BD		
1 st c	Radwell	1	3 out of 4 inhumations accompanied by nails, possibly from coffins
	Biddenham F5/6 (Crem 601)	1	One unurned cremation deposit, possibly in small box
	Biddenham F9 (S358)	1	Charred wooden plank on top of cremation deposit
2 nd c	Kempston	3	One inhumation in coffin
3 rd c	Kempston	3	Two inhumations in coffins
4 th c	Bletsoe	8	4 burials in insubstantial coffins
	Kempston	3	At least 11 burials in coffins
	Mill Farm Cardington	7	Coffin
	Sandy Municipal Cemetery	3	Some burials in coffins

Table 5.10 Burials with stone furnishings

Date	Location	Site type	Detail
2 nd c	Biddenham Loop F13/14 G16	2	Inhumation of woman in stone lined cist: flat limestone slabs on base, sides and one end. Probably also capped by slabs.
	Marsh Leys Area 2	2	Inhumation G31, pillow stone, and stones beneath knees.
3 rd c	Kempston (Ph 3)	3	Inh 3974: 4 fragments of limestone either side of skull
4 th c	Kempston (Ph 4)	3	Inh 3920: decapitated burial, the skull placed between legs, on a piece of limestone, acting as pillowstone
4 th c	Kempston (Ph 5)	3	Inh 3921: large upright limestone slab as pillowstone Inh 3946: cow skull and two upright stone slabs beneath feet Inh 3986: inhumation of young male, adjacent were stone slabs, possible base of funerary monument Inh 3977: number of limestone fragments, 12 of which were deliberately placed in vertical position alongside southern edge of grave.
4 th c	Sandy Municipal Cemetery	3	Some graves with stone lining
	Bletsoe Cemetery	8	25 out of the 54 burials were in graves with loose stone packing, stone lining, or pillowstones.

Table 5.11 Levels of wealth in burial in MK

Site	LIA	1 st c R	2 nd c	3 rd c	4 th c
A43 Silverstone Fields Farm	1				
Bourton Grounds, Thornborough		3	1		
Thornborough Barrow			4		
Monkston Area 1			2		
Monkston Area 2	3	2			
Monkston Area 3	1				
Great Brickhill			2		
Stanton Low		1	2		3
<i>Magiovinium</i> Site 17 Areas 1 and 2			2	2	1
<i>Magiovinium</i> Site 18			2		
Sherwood Drive			1		
Windmill Hill		2			
Saffron Gardens	2				
Westbury			2		
Bancroft mausoleum	2	3	4		3
Wavendon Gate		2	3	2	2
<i>Magiovinium</i> , Fenny Stratford				2	2
Fenny Lock				2	
Salford Quarry	2				
Gayhurst Quarry					1
Mill Close, Caldecotte			2		
Cotton Valley		1			
Cosgrove					1

Table 5.12 Levels of wealth in burial in BD

Site	LIA	1 st c R	2 nd c	3 rd c	4 th c
Bletsoe					2
Radwell		2		2	
Kempston			2	2	3
Marsh Leys 1 and 2	1	2	2		
Biddenham Loop (all 6 locations)	2	3	3		
Ivel Farm Sandy	2				
Mill Farm Cardington					2
Sandy (general) and Muncial Cemetery				2	2
Sandy (land adjacent to 6 Stratford Rd)			1		
Ecks Land South, Ivel Farm	2				
Willington Quarry North	1			2	
Willington, Redlands Quarry		2			
Harrold Meadway	2				
Harrold Pit, Odell	3				
Deepdale, Potton		2			
Bromham	1				
Roxton				1	
Marston Moretaine	2				
Wyboston	1				
E Stagsden	2				
W Stagsden	1				
Peartree Farm					1

Table 5.13 Infant burials

Date	Area	Location	Site type	No.	Details
LIA	MK	Silverstone Fields Farm	1	5	Neonate burials, placed around enclosure ditch (15x20m), apparently around the same time. Partially articulated cow skeleton also in ditch.
	BD	Willington Quarry North	7	1	Neonate in enclosure boundary (another nearby enclosure contained adult inhumation)
		East Stagsden	1	1	Burial of neonate, with young foal, many vessels, some drilled or deliberately broken.
1 st c (R)	BD	Biddenham F8	1	1	Partial foetus skeleton, in ritual deposit G384.
	BD	Biddenham F8	1	2	A female inhumation and a cremation both contained foetus bones
2 nd c	MK	Stanton Low	4	4	Infant burials beneath villa floors
		Stanton Low	4	1	11 burials, including female with baby, in wooden coffins
	BD	Biddenham Loop F14	2	1	Fragmentary remains of neonate in pit G69 in roundhouse enclosure, with rubbish
	BD	Biddenham Loop F14	2	1	Partial foetus skeleton, in ritual deposit G119.
3 rd c	MK	<i>Magiovinium</i> (Fenny Stratford bypass)	3	1	Infant burial in inhumation cemetery
	BD	Kempston Phase 3	3	8	Some infant burials were in the formal cemetery (4), but, as with adults, there were still informal dispersed burials (4). One of these was also a foetal burial (2905) associated with a wall candle holder, pottery sherds, animal bone and oyster sherds.
4 th c		Kempston Phase 4	3	3	Foetal burial (3983) and 2 other infant burials.
		Kempston Phase 5	3	4	2 formal burials, 1 dispersed Also foetal burial 3941
		Stanton Low	4	1	Infant burial in lead coffin
	MK	<i>Magiovinium</i> Site 17, Area 1	3	8	Eight infants adjacent to road and at outskirts of town, informal burials
		Fenny Lock	1	1	Infant inhumation in pit, in area of other informal burials, including 2 cremations. Infant accompanied by copper alloy bracelet and pottery.

Date	Area	Location	Site type	No.	Details
	BD	Peartree Farm	1	1	Infant burial in floor of rectangular building
		Bletsoe	8	5	Formal cemetery contained 5 infant burials, carefully placed, in separate area

Table 5.14 Animal species in (human) burial (BD unless stated)

Date	Site	Site type	Species	No. of burials
LIA	Bancroft mausoleum (MK)	1	Pig, sheep, chicken, unspec	6
	Harrold Pit Odell	1	Pig	5
	Biddenham Loop F5 (L20)	1	Pig (burnt)	1
	East Stagsden	1	Horse (articulated foal)	1
	Ivel Farm Sandy	1	Unspecified	4
	Wavendon Gate (MK)	1	Three unburnt, disarticulated chickens; unspecific	1
1c (R)	Bancroft mausoleum (MK)	1	Pig, sheep, ox, horse	4
	Biddenham Loop F9 G493	1	Pig, unspecific	3
2c	Bancroft mausoleum (MK)	12	Pig, sheep, ox	4
	Wavendon Gate (MK)	2	Unspecific	1
	Kempston Ph 2 (Crem 3804)	3	Whole chicken	1
3c	Kempston Ph 3 (Crem 3802)	3	Whole chicken	1
	Kempston Ph 3 (Inh 3940)	3	Chicken	1
	Fenny Lock (Crem 4025) (MK)	1	Chicken, unspecific	1
4c	Kempston Ph 5 (Inh 3946)	3	Cow skull beneath feet	1
	Bletsoe	8	Unspecific	2

Table 5.16 Hobnails or shoes in burial

Date	Location	Context	Area
1 st c (R)	Bourton Grounds, Thornborough	Cremation, well furnished, inc glass vessels	MK
Early 2 nd century	Marsh Leys, Area 1, Ph 4	Inhumation G14: group of 3 hobnails near skull.	BD
Late 2 nd century	Stanton Low Eastern Cemetery	Male inhumation contained remains of shoe by right femur	MK
4 th century	Stanton Low Western Cemetery	Male inhumation contained shoe, and Much Hadham beaker	MK
3 rd and 4 th century	Kempston Phase 3	Inhumations 3918, 3970, 3922 had hobnails Inhumations 3955 and 3940 each had 2 well preserved hobnailed boots (on feet)	BD
	Kempston Phase 4	Inh 3956: one hobnail in grave Inh 3968: two sets of hobnails by feet.	BD
4 th c	Bletsoe	2 inhumations with hobnails, and at least 2 more with shoes	BD

Table 5.17 Ritual deposits

Date	Area	Site (type in brackets)	Type of deposit
LIA	MK	Bancroft mausoleum (1)	Pit 197: large amounts of pot, one drilled.
	MK	Downs Barn (1)	Several pits, one containing 50% burnt animal bones (mainly pig); another several large vessels, possibly deliberately smashed, and a drilled pot. A rectangular stone paved area nearby may have had some ritual purpose.
	BD	West Stagsden (1)	Head of elderly dog, with pottery sherds (possible sacrificial deposit)
	BD	East Stagsden (1)	Pit 699: 18 pots, one had post-firing hole in shoulder. Pit 990: 18 LIA and IA vessels. Both pits interpreted as deliberate deposition.
	BD	East Stagsden burial (1)	Foal (head displaced) and large deposits of deliberately broken and drilled pots, accompanying neonate human burial
	BD	Marston Moretaine (1)	Pit with five sequences of 'structured deposition' (pottery and charcoal)
	BD	Ursula Taylor School (1)	Posthole: substantial amounts of 5 EIA pots. Ditches containing many large sherds of vessels, deposited in one event, and burnt animal bone (some drilled pots)
	BD	Roxton (1)	Many cattle bones, some stained with ochre, in boundary ditch.
	BD	Marsh Leys Area 1 (1)	Skull, charcoal and pot in roundhouse gully
1 st c R	BD	Keeley Lane Wootton (1)	Deposit of 50 pots, substantial pieces, buried in one event.
	BD	Marsh Leys Area 1 (2)	Special deposit (G25) of chickens and Roman coins in posthole.
	BD	Plantation Quarry, Willington (7)	Ritual pit in shrine containing IA ceramics, and pig's head and limbs
	BD	Odell (1)	Head and neck of woman placed behind woven framework of late 1 st c well.
	BD	East Stagsden (1)	Large assemblage of LIA/RB pot in ditch (some curated?)
	BD	Biddenham Loop (F5) (1)	2 pits (G887; G257), containing dog, pots and cow bones
	BD	Biddenham Loop (F8) (1)	Deposit G384 with foetus, glass and samian
	MK	Westbury (1)	Ox skull and ceramic counter in pit. Adjacent were 3 other pits with possible ritual deposits containing animals (Table 5.17)
	MK	Stanton Low (4)	Small painted ceramic flask, placed in well wall. Votive to spirit of well?
2 nd c	MK	Fenny Stratford Bypass (3)	Ritual pit (dogs, and pottery deposit with high proportion of drinking vessels such as flagons, and amphorae)

Date	Area	Site (type in brackets)	Type of deposit
	BD	Peartree Farm (1)	Deposit in ditch terminal of at least 10 pots, 7 of which are complete, if broken, samian). 87% of assemblage was large pieces of glass vessels.
	BD	Marsh Leys Area 2 (2)	12 complete vessels together in ditch
	BD	Biddenham Loop (F14: G119) (2)	Special deposit containing Belgic and RB pot and samian cup, and partial foetus skeleton.
	BD	Wilstead (1)	Structured deposit of 2 complete, though broken, vessels in ditch
	MK	Cosgrove (5)	Antonine well had a small flask, possibly containing oils, gift to spirit, built into wall.
	MK	Cosgrove (5)	2 skulls set into wall foundation near entrance of late second century temple.
3 rd c	MK	Wavendon Gate (2)	Cockerel beneath almost complete jar in posthole.
	MK	Cosgrove (5)	Pit W21: 39 coins, pots and other material
	MK	Thornborough (6)	Skull and long bones in foundation deposit beneath temple floor (see 5.2.4)
3 rd - 4 th c	MK	Fenny Lock (1)	2 pits in area of human burials. One containing 3 cattle skulls, the other a small NV barbotine jar, jet bead, and copper alloy bracelet and earring.
	BD	Wilstead (1)	2 ritual pits: one with deliberate structured deposit of one complete shoe, as evidenced by 70 hobnails, and charred grain, charcoal, and pot sherds. The second with nails, hobnails, glass vessel fragments, grain debris, sherds and one whole (deliberately smashed?) pot.
4 th c	MK	Bancroft mausoleum (6)	Pit beneath LRB circular shrine contained coins, iron spearheads (votive models), pot and brooches, and semi-articulated skeleton of a pig.
	BD	Kempston Ph 4 (3)	Within cemetery were 3 pits filled with broken domestic material/ceramics/charcoal – possibly associated with burial rites.
	BD	Kempston Ph 5 (3)	Pit G552: many small finds and a coin hoard, suggesting that it was associated with the nearby shrine.
	MK	<i>Magiovinium</i> , Site 17, Area 1 (3)	2 skulls buried in gully to north of organised cemetery.

Table 5.18 Separate animal burials/deposits (site type in brackets)

Date	Site		Description
LIA	Bancroft mausoleum (1)	MK	Goat skull in Enclosure Ditch 60
	Wavendon Gate (1)	MK	Horse (carefully placed, articulated foal in ditch fill)
	Silverstone Fields Farm (1)	MK	Cow – partially articulated skeleton in ditch, near inhumations of five infants
	West Stagsden (1)	BD	Apparent deliberate deposition of dog head in pond fill
1 st c R	Westbury (1)	MK	3 pits – one had a single complete horse skull, the other 2 each had part of articulated ox skeletons.
	Wavendon Gate (2)	MK	Partial dog skeleton in ditch
2 nd c	Marsh Leys 1 (2)	BD	Articulated horse skeleton, in shallow pit.
	Brackley Hatch (Silverstone) (1)	MK	2 partial horse skeletons in ditch
	East Stagsden (1)	BD	Pit 546 contained incomplete skeletons of 2 dogs and 1 sheep, and ditch fill 804 a complete horse foreleg
3 rd c	Thornborough Temple (6)	MK	Beneath threshold of associated building: skull of horse, ringed around with oyster shells, and with a large smooth pebble on top.
	Wavendon Gate (2)	MK	Horse and sheep: ditch with 2 horse skulls and long bone at one end, and 7m away, another 'placed' horse skull'. Votive deposit? Articulated sheep burial in nearby pit.
3 rd - 4 th c	Stagsden Golf Course Area D (1)	BD	Horse burial in rectangular enclosure associated with farmstead
	Wilstead (1)	BD	5 sheep skulls, carefully placed, together in pit
4 th c	Bancroft mausoleum (6)	MK	Articulated goat skeleton found in pit adjacent to later shrine

Table 5.19 Drilled pots and other deliberately damaged items

Date	Site (type in brackets)	Area	Details
LIA	Bancroft mausoleum (1)	MK	IA pot, fine 'pre-Belgic' cup, possible heirloom, with drilled base ('ritual' pit 197: Table 5.17)
	Downs Barn (1)	MK	Jar with holes in base and side (in ritual pit)
	Wavendon Gate (1)	MK	Several jars with perforated bases
	East Stagsden (1)	BD	Drilled pottery in infant/foal burial, and other pits near by. Head of foal removed from body.
	Marston Moretaine (1)	BD	Drilled jar
	Marsh Leys Areas 1 and 2 (1)	BD	Several vessels in this phase have post-firing holes.
	Ursula Taylor School (1)	BD	Special deposit contained drilled vessels
1 st c (R)	Bancroft villa (1)	MK	Dish (133), drilled near base, found in ditch deposit
	Marsh Leys Areas 1 and 2 (2)	BD	Several vessels in this phase have post-firing holes.
	Biddenham Ph 9, L25, Grave 150 (1)	BD	Deliberately drilled hole in base of vessel 109
2 nd c	Marsh Leys Area 1 (2)	BD	Inh G14 had a vessel, apparently deliberately smashed, placed by head: 80 sherds of different fabrics in the grave fill perhaps represent funerary feasting
	Caldecotte Mill Close (7)	MK	Jar with 3 holes in base, in isolated cremation
	Kempston (3)	BD	3 jars with drilled holes in base Incomplete copper alloy sewing needle, near feet of female inhumation 3972.
	Bancroft villa (4)	MK	Jar (411) with pierced base
	East Stagsden (1)	BD	Jar, perforated near shoulder.
3 rd c	West Stagsden (1)	BD	Lid with post-firing hole
	Kempston (3)	BD	Jar with 2 holes near base
4 th c	Kempston (3)	BD	Jar with hole drilled near rim
	Kempston (3)	BD	Male inhumation 3934, incomplete toilet instrument, perhaps deliberately broken

Table 5.20 Temples and shrines

Date	Site	Area	Type of location
LIA	Possibly at Plantation Quarry	BD	Ritual enclosure/shrine
1 st c (R)	Plantation Quarry, Willington	BD	Ritual enclosure/shrine
	Marsh Leys Area 1	BD	Square enclosure, possibly containing shrine
	Biddenham Loop F8	BD	Small post-built square shrine
	Redlands Quarry Willington	BD	Small square enclosure
2 nd c	Bancroft mausoleum	MK	Mausoleum (possible temple)
	Cosgrove	MK	Early 2c: rectangular wooden shrine. Late 2c: replaced by stone square temple
3 rd c	Kempston	BD	Polygonal temple/shrine
	Thornborough Temple	MK	Temple
	Bancroft mausoleum	MK	Temple/ mausoleum
3 th – 4 th c	Monkston Area 2	MK	Possible ritual structure
4 th c	Bancroft mausoleum	MK	Stone-based circular shrine
	Kempston	BD	Polygonal temple/shrine

Table 5.21 Religious or ritual symbols (MK unless stated)

Date	Site	Site type	Find type
LIA	Wavendon Gate	1	Bronze wheel-headed pin, possibly 2c BC
2 nd c	Stanton Low	4	Claw foot from ceremonial tripod, possibly of panther, hence Bacchic connection
	Syresham (A43)	2	Red jasper intaglio Ceres or Genius
	<i>Magiovinium</i> Site 17, Area 1	3	Intaglio of cornelian, of Ceres/Fides Publica
	Sandy (BD)	3	Bronze phalera (decoration attached to military corselet), possibly depicting Medusa or Mercury.
3 rd c	Wavendon Gate	2	Taranis wheel, and other wheel models
	Thornborough Temple	6	Bronze Isis figurine
	Fenny Stratford Bypass (<i>Magiovinium</i>)	3	Bronze ram, 32mm high, panniers on back. Gaulish or British, possibly part of large group., and connected with Mercury
	Roxton (BD)	2	Venus figurines
3 rd c	Sandy (BD)	3	Stone sculpture: large sandstone relief, possibly 3 local deities
3 rd – 4 th c	Sherwood Drive Bletchley	1	Hoard of metal objects, including iron objects, bronze jewellery and also sheet bronze, of possible ritual/religious use.
4 th c	Bancroft mausoleum	6	Up to 14 votive iron spearheads
	Bancroft villa	4	Two sculptures of a cockerel, of bronze and stone, suggest Mercury worship
	Bletsoe cemetery (BD)	8	Miniature axe/weapon
	Kempston (BD)	3	Miniature axe/weapon
	Blue Bridge	1	Miniature axe/weapon
	Olney Hyde	1	Bronze patera
	<i>Magiovinium</i> Site 17, Area 1	3	Snake-head terminal bronze bracelet, found in secondary inhumation, above 2 nd c cremation, in the square enclosure burial.

Table 6.7 LIA buildings

Site	Description
MK	
A43 sites (SL2, SL3 and Biddlesden Road Bridge)	All had evidence of roundhouses
South of Salford Wood	Roundhouses
Kiln Farm, Wolverton	Roundhouse
Near Assart Farm, Potterspury	Roundhouse
Willen Road, Caldecote (Newport)	3 roundhouses
Whittlebury church	8 roundhouses
<i>Bancroft mausoleum</i>	<i>Roundhouse 236</i>
<i>Potterspury</i>	<i>At least one roundhouse</i>
<i>Silverstone Fields Farm</i>	<i>3 possible roundhouses</i>
<i>Foxley Fields Farm, Finmere</i>	<i>At least 6 roundhouses</i>
<i>Cranborne Avenue, Westcroft</i>	<i>One roundhouse</i>
<i>Stanton Low</i>	<i>5 roundhouses</i>
BD	
Mile Road, Eastcotts	A square or rectangular building, just pre- or post- conquest period
West of Crosshill, Staploe and Duloe	Rectangular timber building
Stagsden Golf Course Area B	3 roundhouses
Oakley Road Clapham	One or two roundhouses of LIA/ERB date
<i>West Stagsden</i>	<i>Roundhouse G25</i>
<i>East Stagsden</i>	<i>Roundhouses G1, G3 and G4</i>
<i>Marston Moretaine</i>	<i>Possible roundhouse drip gully</i>
<i>Harrold Pit, Odell</i>	<i>2 roundhouses, each rebuilt twice</i>
<i>Marsh Leys Area 1</i>	<i>2 roundhouses</i>
<i>Biddenham F5</i>	<i>Roundhouses G114 and G86</i>
<i>Ursula Taylor</i>	<i>One porched roundhouse</i>
<i>Stagsden Golf Course</i>	<i>3 roundhouses</i>
<i>Warren Villas</i>	<i>Small rectangular post-built structure</i>

Table 6.8 Locations with late roundhouses

Site	Description
MK	
Deanshanger villa	Later (timber) roundhouses were found at excavations in 1957
Broughton Old Covert	4 th c (timber) roundhouse
Rines Hill, Newton Blossomville	Villa range, incorporating circular building of 3 rd - 4 th century date
<i>Fenny Lock</i>	<i>Stone-founded</i>
<i>Potterspury</i>	<i>Timber</i>
<i>Wavendon Gate</i>	<i>Timber</i>
<i>Bancroft villa (Building 12)</i>	<i>Stone</i>
<i>Bancroft mausoleum</i>	<i>Stone (shrine)</i>
<i>Stantonbury</i>	<i>Stone</i>
BD	
<i>West Stagsden</i>	<i>Stone-founded</i>
<i>Kempston</i>	<i>Stone, and stone-founded</i>

Table 6.9 Locations with stone buildings

Possible stone buildings (Level 3 data)	Stone or stone-founded buildings (Levels 2 and 3)
MK	
Stoke Park Wood, Stoke Goldington	Whittlebury villa
Dag Lane (west side) Stoke Goldington	Black Furlong, Ravenstone
Ham Meadow, Old Stratford	Ashfurlong, Olney
Kite's Nest Field, Stoke Goldington	Lavendon IA/RB site
Wood Farm Haversham	Rines Hill, Newton Blossomville (near 'villa')
N.W. of Woodlands, Weston Underwood	Broadmore Covert, Tyringham
Dinglederry, Weston Underwood	Manor Cottages Wolverton
Bletchley ('house foundations')	Wakefield Lodge villa, near Potterspury
Weston Underwood, near sewage works	Haversham Hill Field
Deanshanger (near villa)	Deanshanger villa
Stone Hill Furlong Haversham	Haversham Hole Field
Fox Covert Evenley Site 1	Ravenstone Village
Mountmill Farm, Wicken	Stollidge Field Tingewick
Weston Underwood (south of village)	Ringcell A Hanslope
Paulerspury, near Park Farm	South-east of Haversham Crescent, Haversham
Fox Covert Evenley Site 3	Fox Covert, Evenley Site 2
Little Woolstone	Foscott villa
Shenley School site, Shenley Church End	Mill Close South, Caldecotte
Lathbury	Britons Piece, Haversham
	Hill Farm, Haversham
	<i>Stanton Low</i>
	<i>Blacklands Gayhurst</i>
	<i>Stantonbury</i>
	<i>Holne Chase</i>
	<i>Wymbush</i>
	<i>Cosgrove</i>
	<i>Bancroft villa</i>
	<i>Bancroft mausoleum</i>
	<i>Thornborough Temple</i>
	<i>Monkston</i>
	<i>Sherwood Drive</i>
	<i>Fenny Lock</i>
BD	
North of Marsh Farm, Carlton village	Tempsford
Mill Farm Cardington	Newnham Marina villa
East of Nun Wood, Harrold	Spring Lane Stagsden
Colworth Odell	<i>West Stagsden</i>
Norse Road, Bedford	<i>Kempston</i>
	<i>Sandy Municipal Cemetery</i>

Table 6.10 Architectural elaboration in MK

AE1	AE2	AE3
Stoke Park Wood, Stoke Goldington	Manor Cottages, Wolverton	Lavendon IA/RB site
Kite's Nest Field, Stoke Goldington	Deans Close, Weston Underwood	Wakefield Lodge, Potterspury
Dinglederry, Weston Underwood	Broadmore Covert, Tyringham	Tickford Abbey Garden, Newport Pagnell
Weston Underwood, near sewage works	Sherington Roman site	Britons Piece, near Greyhound Inn, Haversham
Little Linford Park, Haversham	Wood Farm Haversham	Deanshanger
Mill Close South, Caldecotte	Mill Pasture Field, Haversham	Whittlebury villa
Portishead Drive Tattenhoe	SE of Haversham Crescent, Haversham	Dovecote Farm Shenley Brook End
Haversham Hole Field, Haversham	Stone Hill Furlong, Haversham	Ring Cell A Hanslope
Mill Ground Field, Haversham	Haversham Hill Field, Haversham	Foscott
Deanshanger, near villa	Black Furlong, Ravenstone	<i>Bancroft (villa & mausoleum)</i>
Ham Meadow, Old Stratford	Little Brickhill, <i>Magiovinium</i> 'mansio'	<i>Stanton Low</i>
Bletchley Park	South of Passenham, Calverton	<i>Cosgrove</i>
South of Weston Underwood	Paulerspury, near Park Farm	<i>Stantonbury</i>
Little Woolstone	Mount Mill Farm Wicken	<i>Holne Chase</i>
Dag Lane west side, Stoke Goldington	Fox Covert Evenley Site 1	<i>Blacklands Gayhurst</i>
North-west of Woodlands, Weston Underwood	Fox Covert Evenley Site 3	<i>Windmill Hill</i>
School site, Shenley Church End	Tingewick, Stollidge Field	
	Ashfurlong	
	Rines Hill 'villa'	
	<i>Wymbush</i>	
	<i>Wood Corner</i>	
	<i>Great Ouse Culvert, Silverstone</i>	
	<i>Sherwood Drive</i>	
<i>In addition, a further four Level 2 MK sites had AE1.</i>	<i>Olney Hyde</i>	

Table 6.11 Architectural Elaboration in BD

AE1	AE2	AE3
Norse Road, Bedford	Marsh Farm, Carlton	Newnham
Hill Spinney, Turvey	Colworth, Odell	3 Horseshoes Farm, Colmworth
Wyboston	Radwell	Tempsford
West of Knotting Village	Biddenham South Field	Thistley Green, Moor End Kempston
Mill Farm Cardington	<i>Kempston</i>	<i>Sandy</i>
E of Nun Wood Harrold		
NE of Park Wood Harrold		
Hillfoot Farm, Cardington		
<i>In addition, a further 12 Level 2 sites had AE1.</i>		

Table 6.12 Putative villas in study area

MK		BD	
Site	Classification	Site	Classification
Wakefield Lodge	AE3	Eastcotts	Cropmark only (SMR 1623)
Whittlebury	Villa	<i>Bletsoe</i>	<i>AE1</i>
Deanshanger	Villa	Great Barford	Cropmark only
Foscott	Villa	Willington/Cople	Cropmark only
<i>Bancroft</i>	<i>Villa</i>	Tempsford	AE3
<i>Cosgrove</i>	<i>Villa</i>	Newnham	AE3
<i>Stantonbury</i>	<i>Villa</i>	Thistley Green, Kempston Moor End	AE3
<i>Wymbush</i>	<i>AE2</i>	Carlton	AE2
Dovecote Farm Shenley	AE3	Colworth	AE2
Stollidge Field Tingewick	AE2	Radwell	AE2
<i>Stanton Low</i>	<i>Villa</i>	Biddenham South Field	AE2

Table 6.14 Gallo-Belgic imports

MK	BD
<i>Bancroft mausoleum: terra rubra girth beaker, and terra nigra sherds</i>	Water End East, Great Barford: Gallo-Belgic sherds (Northamptonshire Archaeology 2004)
<i>Monkston: Gallo-Belgic white ware flagon and beaker. Also terra rubra, terra nigra and Lyons ware.</i>	Wyboston: Gallo-Belgic wares (Simco 1973: 12)
<i>Caldecotte: Gallo-Belgic vessel of cream fabric, in a second century context</i>	Sandy: Gallo-Belgic whitewares and <i>terra rubra</i> , in LIA cemetery (Johnston 1974: 48-9)
<i>Wavendon Gate: two Gallo-Belgic butt beakers</i>	Kempston: a Gallo-Belgic whiteware sherd, residual in post-Roman phase (Dawson 2004: 78)
	<i>Marston Moretaine: Gallo-Belgic white ware sherds</i>
	<i>East Stagsden: Gallo-Belgic white ware flagon of pre-conquest date</i>
	<i>West Stagsden: Gallo-Belgic white vessel, possibly a butt beaker</i>

Table 6.15 Locations with amphorae

MK		BD
Paulerspury	Holne Chase	Turvey
Old Stratford	Willen	<i>Sandy</i>
Wavendon	Stantonbury	<i>West Stagsden</i>
Cold Brayfield	Wood Corner	<i>Kempston</i>
Lavendon Mill Sluice	Standing Way	<i>Wilstead</i>
Little Woolstone	Pennyland	<i>Warren Villas</i>
Wymbush	Saxon Street	<i>Peartree Farm</i>
Caldecotte	<i>Bancroft mausoleum</i>	<i>Marsh Leys</i>
<i>Westbury</i>	<i>Magiovinium, Fenny Stratford Bypass</i>	
<i>Stanton Low</i>	<i>Cosgrove</i>	
<i>Woughton</i>		
Total number of sites		21
		8

Table 6.16 Locations with mortaria

MK		BD
Wood Corner	<i>Magiovinium (Fenny Stratford)</i>	Hillfoot Farm Cardington
Stantonbury	<i>Wavendon Gate</i>	North of Marsh Farm Carlton
Holne Chase	<i>Stanton Low</i>	Willow Hill Farm Moggerhanger
Sherwood Drive	<i>Wymbush</i>	<i>Wilstead</i>
Ashfurlong	<i>Woughton</i>	<i>Warren Villas</i>
Stanton Wood Stantonbury	<i>Bancroft villa</i>	<i>Norse Road, Bedford</i>
Hardmead	<i>Constantine Way, nr Bancroft</i>	<i>Harrold Kiln</i>
Little Horwood Manor	<i>Saxon Street</i>	<i>Kempston</i>
North Emerson Valley	<i>Westbury</i>	<i>Roxton</i>
Fernfield Little Horwood	<i>Great Ouse Culvert, A43</i>	<i>Bletsoe cemetery</i>
<i>Walton</i>	<i>Brackley Hatch, A43</i>	<i>Harrold Pit Odell</i>
<i>Bradwell Abbey Barn</i>	<i>Syresham A43</i>	<i>West Stagsden</i>
<i>Cosgrove</i>	<i>Fenny Lock</i>	<i>Radwell</i>
<i>Finmere</i>	<i>Berrystead Close, Caldecotte</i>	
<i>Thornborough Temple</i>	<i>Potterspury</i>	
Total number of sites	30	13

Table 6.17 Writing equipment

MK site	Description
Ashfurlong, Olney	Stylus (pers.comm. Brian Martin)
Shenley Church End/Brook End	Stylus
Shenley Church End/Brook End	Seal box
Clifton Reynes (Rines Hill)	Seal box (Portable Antiquities Scheme: RAH1275)
Tingewick, Stollidge Field	Several styli (Lewis 1992: 13)
<i>Magiovinium Site 17</i>	<i>Seal box</i>
<i>Magiovinium Site 17</i>	<i>Seal box lid</i>
<i>Bancroft villa</i>	<i>4 iron styli</i>
<i>Bancroft villa</i>	<i>Stylus case</i>
<i>Bancroft villa</i>	<i>Seal box lid</i>
<i>Stantonbury</i>	<i>Iron stylus</i>
<i>Wood Corner MK</i>	<i>Stylus</i>
<i>Magiovinium, Fenny Stratford Bypass</i>	<i>Base of seal box</i>
<i>Caldecotte (Berrystead Close)</i>	<i>Two styli</i>
<i>Caldecotte (Berrystead Close)</i>	<i>Seal box</i>
<i>Wavendon Gate</i>	<i>Seal box lid</i>
<i>Wavendon Gate</i>	<i>Writing tablets</i>
BD site	
Sandy	Possible stylus (Johnston 1974: 45)
Odell, Harrold Pit	Fragment of wooden writing tablet (Simco 1984: 45)
Newnham	Seal box lid (Simco 1984: 45)
Tempsford	Iron stylus found near (possible) villa (Hanson and Conolly 2002: 158)
<i>Harrold Kiln site</i>	<i>Iron stylus</i>

Table 6.18 Epigraphy: inscriptions

MK	Description
Castlethorpe (Burtles Hill)	Two inscribed silver bracelets, reading VIIRNICO (?) (RIB 2424.1, 2424.2)
Little Horwood Manor	Silver spoon, fluted bowl with engraving: VENERIA VIVAS (RIB 2420.43)
Old Stratford	The hoard contained dedication to Mars, and to Jupiter and Vulcano (see Table 6.32)
BD	
Hillgrounds, Kempston	Colchester brooch, inscribed V..CIINV. Mid first century date (RIB 2421.59)
Ravensden House, Ravensden	Bronze fibula, Hod Hill type, letter punched on bow: IS.IN.NO (RIB 2421.47)
Sandy	Oculist's stamp, describing 4 different treatments. (Johnston 1974: 45-7).
Harrold Kiln	Oculist's stamp, listing ointment ingredients (Simco 1984: 54)
Kempston	Clay gaming counters, inscribed with both letters and numbers (Simco 1984: 42)
Honeyhill, Biddenham	Gold openwork ring, reading 'Eusebio Vita' (RIB 2422.5; Johns 1982: 411)

Table 6.19 Epigraphy: graffiti and tile stamps

MK	Description
Abbey Barn, Bradwell	Graffito on animal bone, reads 'sus' (pig) (Green 1970)
Emberton Gravel Pit, Olney	Grey jar, with possible personal name (..CAVS..) (RIB 2503.222)
Whittlebury	(site uncertain) tile stamp, of Legio XX.
<i>Great Ouse Culvert, Silverstone</i>	<i>Pottery sherd, inscribed 'X'</i>
<i>Wavendon Gate</i>	<i>Pottery sherd, inscribed 'IX'</i>
<i>Bancroft mausoleum</i>	<i>Samian bowl, graffito reading 'TRICV...'</i>
<i>Bancroft villa</i>	<i>Graffito on wall plaster.....AVIIV</i>
<i>Bancroft villa</i>	<i>Tegula with graffito</i>
<i>Stanton Low</i>	<i>7 tegulae, stamped 'Avienu..' (Avienus?)</i>
<i>Stanton Low</i>	<i>Part of tegula, stamped '...NCA...'</i>
<i>Stanton Low</i>	<i>Graffito on Samian dish, reading 'CAS...'</i>
<i>Wymbush</i>	<i>Graffito on tegula</i>
BD	
<i>Kempston Church End</i>	<i>Base of bowl inscribed with an 'X'</i>
Sandy	Two sherds of pottery with graffiti (one appears to read 'xviii') (Johnston 1974: 45-7).

Table 6.20 Lamps and lighting equipment

Site	Details
MK	
Sherwood Drive	Candlestick, in iron hoard at Sherwood Drive
<i>Thornborough Barrow</i>	<i>Bronze lamp, with a chain for hanging</i>
<i>Magiovinium Site 17</i>	<i>A fragment of a pottery lamp chimney</i>
<i>Cosgrove</i>	<i>Triple candle holder</i>
<i>Wavendon Gate</i>	<i>Iron open lamp and hanger</i>
<i>Bancroft villa</i>	<i>Copper alloy chains, for hanging lamps</i>
<i>Bancroft villa</i>	<i>Iron pendant candleholder</i>
BD	
<i>Kempston</i>	<i>Iron candleholder with 3 legs</i>
<i>Kempston</i>	<i>Iron candleholder</i>
Ickwell	Iron utensil for hanging lamp on wall

Table 6.21 Burials

Location	Find
MK	
Lathbury House, Lathbury	30 ‘female’ skeletons found in 1801, also RB coins
Ashfurlong Olney	2 inhumations on southern edge of settlement
Lavendon IA/RB site	Crouched inhumation with RB pottery
Tickford Abbey Garden, Newport Pagnell	RB extended burial
Stoke Goldington Old Gravel Pit	RB inhumation
Whittlebury	8 infant burials, within villa buildings
Whittlebury church	Two pits of IA/LIA date contained a frontal skull bone, and a mandible
Gravel Pit, Cold Brayfield	5 greyware jars, inverted, possible cremations
Ham Meadow, Old Stratford	Burials (no details) found near a farmstead
Wavendon Heath	2 amphorae and other ‘urns’ containing cremations
Watling Street, Old Stratford	Prone burial with amphora
Cuttle Mill Paulerspury	Two groups of inhumations, one including infants; another group with pottery from mid first century to fourth
Paulerspury, near Kirby Farm	Large quantities of human bones, with 1C pottery.
Paulerspury, Watling Street	Inhumation accompanied by amphora
West of Watling Street, Calverton	Urned cremation adjacent to Watling Street
Little Brickhill, <i>Magiovinium</i>	Recent excavation: cremation and inhumation cemetery
The Bathing Station, Little Brickhill	2 inhumations found recently; 46 over the years
<i>Magiovinium</i>	One decapitated burial
Warren Farm Wolverton	Secondary inhumation in ring ditch, with IA pottery
BD	
Newnham villa	Infant burial
Clapham Road Brickfield, Bedford	‘British burial place’ with 50 cremations
Church Field Ickwell	2 well-furnished inhumations, possibly of later 1 st c date
North of the Bungalow, Gt Barford	Skeleton with RB pottery
Kempston Box End	38 LRB inhumations, one decapitated
Kempston, Hillgrounds	Pre-conquest cremation cemetery, found in 19 th c
Water End East, Great Barford bypass	RB cremation cemetery – 6 cremations, 1 infant inhumation
Elstow	Cinerary urn with other RB finds
Sharnbrook	High status items, poss associated with pre-conquest burial
Odell, Harrold Pit	Several 1 st c (R) inhumations, and LIA and RB human remains, possibly excarnated
Warren Villas	Small RB inhumation cemetery, together with isolated RB inhumations and cremations
Market Place Bedford	RB urned cremation

Location	Find
Mount Pleasant Farm Clapham	Roman coffin and pottery, found in 19 th c
Palaceyard Wood Roxton	RB urned cremation, accompanied by patera
Stone Bridge Tempsford	Urned cremation pot – possibly LIA
Eastcotts, Bedford	2 isolated ERB cremations, and 2 isolated LRB inhumations
South Field Biddenham	Urned cremations
Biddenham well	Human skeleton, deposited near the top of RB deposits
Castle Mill Airfield, Bedford	Possible example of excarnation, in well
Ecks Lane South, Ivel Farm, Sandy	Isolated LIA cremation, 2 complete pedestal urns, covered with wooden lid and infilled
North of Moggerhanger, Blunham	RB inhumation
Near modern cemetery, Sandy	‘Belgic’ cemetery, LIA pot and other items
Tower Hill Sandy	RB cremations and inhumations, one with ‘pillow-stone’
The Bungalow, Sandy	Fragment of human skull beneath mid 1 st c road surface
Chesterfield, Sandy	LRB adult and infant inhumations, among buildings
Sandy modern cemetery	Three inhumations (Table 6.27)
Tempsford ‘villa’ site	Inhumation, possibly in coffin

Table 6.22 Early inhumation burials

Date	MK	No.	BD	No.
LIA	<i>Saffron Gardens, Bletchley (decapitated)</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>East Stagsden (neonate)</i>	<i>1</i>
	<i>Silverstone Fields Fm(infants)</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>Bromham</i>	<i>1</i>
	Wolverton	1	<i>Biddenham Loop F5, G519</i>	<i>1</i>
			<i>Wyboston</i>	<i>2</i>
			<i>Willington Quarry N (inc. 1 infant)</i>	<i>2</i>
RB	Lavendon LIA/RB site	1	<i>Radwell</i>	<i>4</i>
			<i>Biddenham Loop F8 G133</i>	<i>1</i>
			<i>Marsh Leys Area 1</i>	<i>2</i>
			<i>Marsh Leys Area 2</i>	<i>2</i>
			<i>Biddenham Loop F13/14 (including 1 infant)</i>	<i>3</i>
			Church Field Ickwell	2
			Harrold Pit, Odell	3 (?)
	MK total	8	BD total	24+

Table 6.23 Excarnation in LIA and first century (R)

Date	BD	Min. no. of dead
LIA	<i>Marsh Leys, Area 1</i>	<i>1</i>
	<i>Harrold Pit, Odell</i>	<i>2</i>
	The Bungalow, Sandy	1
1 st c R	<i>Marsh Leys Area 1</i>	<i>1</i>
	<i>Marsh Leys Area 2</i>	<i>1</i>
	<i>Harrold Pit</i>	<i>1</i>
	MK	
IA/LIA	Whittlebury Church	1

Table 6.24 Excarnation in second to fourth centuries

MK	Min. no. of dead	BD	Min. no. of dead
<i>Cosgrove</i>	<i>2</i>	Castle Mill Bedford (LIA or RB)	1
<i>Fenny Lock</i>	<i>1</i>	Harrold Pit, Odell	1
<i>Thornborough Temple</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>Biddenham Loop, Farmstead 14</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Monkston Area 2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>Wilstead</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Magiovinium, Site 17, Area 1</i>	<i>2</i>		

Table 6.25 Locations with burnt or broken grave goods

Date	MK	No.	BD	No.
LIA			<i>Biddenham F5</i>	<i>1</i>
	<i>Bancroft mausoleum</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>East Stagsden</i>	<i>1</i>
LIA/RB			Sharnbrook	1
RB	<i>Bancroft mausoleum</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>Biddenham F13/14</i>	<i>1</i>
	<i>Fenny Lock</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>Marsh Leys Area 1</i>	<i>1</i>
			<i>Kempston Church End</i>	<i>2</i>
			Clapham Road, Bedford	50+
			Tower Hill, Sandy	?
			Water End, Great Barford	1
Total locations		2		9
Total burials		4		10+

Table 6.26 Higher status burials

Date	MK	Level	BD	Level
LIA	<i>Monkston Area 2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>Harrold Pit, Odell</i>	<i>3</i>
LIA/ ERB	<i>Bourton Grounds, Thornborough</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>Biddenham Loop F6</i>	<i>3</i>
			<i>Biddenham Loop F9</i>	<i>3</i>
			Hillgrounds, Kempston	3
			Sharnbrook	4
			Ickwell (1 st c R)	3
			<i>Biddenham Loop F13/14</i>	<i>3</i>
RB	<i>Thornborough Barrow</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>Kempston Church End</i>	<i>3</i>
	<i>Wavendon Gate</i>	<i>3</i>		
	<i>Stanton Low</i>	<i>3</i>		
	<i>Bancroft mausoleum</i>	<i>3</i>		
	<i>Bancroft mausoleum</i>	<i>4</i>		

Table 6.27 Ritual deposits

Date	MK		Ref
LIA	Whittlebury church	4 pits, with IA/LIA pottery, animal bone, daub, charcoal, burnt grain. One pit contained human mandible, second was 'structured deposit', including human frontal bone placed flat, like a bowl.	Jones <i>et al</i> 2005
RB	Emberton Park	Well containing several complete pots, together with limestone slab carved with Mercury figure	SMR
	Old Stratford (Firs Farm)	Pit containing pottery, bones, tile and samian	SMR
LRB	Thornborough Temple	Small shrine to west of temple site, with pit in centre of platform	Lewis 1992: 23
	BD		
LIA	Odell	Pit between the two cremation cemeteries contained wooden plough	Curteis 2001: 190
RB	Clapham Road Brickfield	50 funnel shaped pits, containing large numbers of animal bones, other items. Possible cremations	SMR; Dyer 1976
	Odell	Several ERB and MRB pits and ditches contained possible ritual deposits, including animal bones, brooches, pottery, IA coins, querns	Curteis 2001: 191
	Castle Mill well, Bedford	Well, large quantities of pottery, fragment of human skull showing defleshing marks	Oetgen and Pixley 2003: 7
	Bromham Road Bedford	Pit, lined with stones and tile, containing burnt animal bones	Simco 1984: 97
	Caldecote, Northill	Deep funnel-shaped pit, steps cut into side, containing coins, pottery, bronze items.	SMR
	Biddenham well	Stone-lined well containing animal and human remains, pottery, sculpture	Simco 1984: 57
	Sandy	Large pit contained 3 inhumations, many artefacts, and a set each of horns from goat, sheep and cow	Johnston 1974: 39
LRB	Odell	Fill of well at junction of 3 enclosure ditches included human bone, IA coins, quernstones and animal remains	Curteis 2001: 191

Table 6.28 Temples and shrines

	MK	BD
LIA		<i>Plantation Quarry</i>
RB	<i>Bancroft mausoleum</i>	<i>Plantation Quarry</i>
	<i>Cosgrove</i>	<i>Marsh Leys Area 1</i>
	<i>Thornborough</i>	<i>Biddenham Loop F8</i>
	<i>Monkston Area 2</i>	<i>Redlands Quarry Willington</i>
	Stollidge Field Tingewick	<i>Kempston Church End</i>
	Thornborough, shrine to west of main temple	North of Keysoe Row East, Keysoe
		Pavenham East End
		Octagon Farm 1480.16
		Octagon Farm 1480.17
		Octagon Farm 20748

Table 6.29 Locations of ritual activity

	MK	BD
LIA	Saffron Gardens	Odell
		Sandy
RB	<i>Wavendon</i>	<i>Roxton</i>
	Stanton Low	Odell
	Haversham	Wyboston
	Old Stratford	Bell Public House, Roxton
	Cold Brayfield Spring Head	Sandy
	Evenley	Warren Villas
	Sherwood Drive	
	Potterspury	
	Paulerspury	
	Deanshanger Briary Wood	
	Shenley	
	Little Horwood	
	Little Woolstone	
	Shalstone	

Table 6.30 Locations with weights

MK	No.	BD	No.
Oakhill, Shenley Church End	1	Bromham (exact location unknown)	1
Dovecote Farm, Shenley Brook End	1	Bedford, Nash Road	1
Prison Site, Shenley Church End	1	<i>Kempston Church End</i>	2
School site, Shenley Church End	1	<i>Marsh Leys Area 1</i>	2
North Emerson Valley, Shenley Brook End	1		
Fenny Stratford (nr canal)	2		
Paulerspury Park Farm	1		
Simpson	1		
<i>Mill Close, Caldecotte</i>	1		
<i>Fenny Stratford (Magiovinium)</i>	1		
Little Woolstone	3		
Haversham Hill Farm	1		
Deanshanger, Briary Wood	2+		
MK total	17+	BD total	6

Table 6.31 Parishes with more than one IA coin

MK	No.	BD	No.
Evenley	82	Sandy	55
Shalstone	38	Odell	15
Thornborough	26	Kempston	6
Little Horwood (hoard)	12	Wootton	4
Milton Keynes	10	Biddenham	4
Newport Pagnell	7	Bedford	3
Haversham	7	Clapham	2
Bradwell (Bancroft)	6	Eastcotts	2
<i>Magiovinium</i> area	6		
Rines Hill, Clifton Reynes	5		
Paulerspury	4		
Westbury	4		
Deanshanger	4		
Walton	3		
Whittlebury	3		
Stanton Low	3		
Danesborough	3		
Potterspury	3		
Lillingstone Dayrell	2		
Shenley	2		
Buckingham	2		
Old Stratford	2		
Gayhurst	2		
Totals	236		91

Table 6.32 Ritual or religious symbols in MK

Type	Location	Description
Altars and other equipment for worship	Whittlebury Villa	Small stone pedestal or altar
	<i>Stanton Low</i>	<i>Ceremonial tripod, shaft of small column, poss from shrine, and part of poss stone altar</i>
	<i>Olney Hyde</i>	<i>Patera, possibly for ritual use</i>
Mercury and attributes	Little Woolstone	Copper alloy tortoise
	Emberton Park	Limestone carving of Mercury found in well (Toynbee 1964; 156, 328)
	Old Stratford	Copper alloy model tortoise
	Ashfurlong, Olney	‘Household god’ – small bronze Mercury
	Potterspury	Brooch in form of cockerel
	Prison site, Shenley Church End	Small copper alloy statuette, possibly of Mars or Mercury
	Deanshanger, Briary Wood	Ring with Mercury intaglio
	Oakhill Road, Shenley Church End	Statuette of Mercury/Mars
	<i>Fenny Stratford Bypass, Magiovinium</i>	<i>Bronze ram</i>
	<i>Bancroft villa</i>	<i>Two cockerel sculptures</i>
Other classical deities	Old Stratford	Two dedications to Mars. One to Jupiter combined with Vulcan, and one to Vulcan alone (RIB 215; Maxfield and Dobson 1995: 120). Sheet bronze and silver leaf shaped items, bearing images of Mars, Minerva and Victory (Green 1976: 179)
	Bow Brickhill	Bronze eagle
	Shenley Church End	Intaglio of Diana
	<i>Stanton Low</i>	<i>Panther claw tripod, association with Bacchus.</i>
Eastern deities	<i>Thornborough Temple</i>	<i>Isis figurine</i>
Minor and local deities	Castlethorpe	Bonus Eventus intaglio
	<i>Syresham</i>	<i>Intaglio of Ceres/Genius</i>
	<i>Magiovinium Site 17, Area 1</i>	<i>Intaglio of Ceres/Fides Publica</i>
Miniature weapons	Little Horwood	Model axes and other votives

Type	Location	Description
Miniature weapons		
	North of Bancroft Villa	Miniature spearhead
	Fox Covert Site 2, Evenley	Miniature axe
	Fountains Close Great Linford	Miniature spearhead
	Old Stratford	Two votive axes
	Sherwood Drive, Bletchley	Miniature knife
	<i>Bancroft mausoleum</i>	<i>14 miniature spearheads</i>
	<i>Blue Bridge</i>	<i>Miniature axe</i>
Wheel symbols	Fox Covert Site 3, Evenley	Wheel symbol
	<i>Wavendon Gate</i>	<i>Bronze wheel-headed pin (1A)</i>
	<i>Wavendon Gate</i>	<i>Taranis wheel and other wheel models</i>
Snakes	Shenley Church End (behind Shenley Rectory)	Serpent head bracelet
	Old Stratford	Silver double serpent ring
	Calverton, Calverton Field water tower	Serpent head terminal for amulet
	Fox Covert Site 1, Evenley	Snake brooch
	OS Parcel 8553, Shenley Brook End	Serpent head ring
	Castletorpe	Two silver snake-head terminal bracelets
	<i>Magiovinium Site 17, Area 1</i>	<i>Snake-head terminal bracelet</i>
Other, possibly votive, items	Old Park Farm Stoke Goldington	Gold plaque, leaf shape (similar to those in Old Stratford hoard)
	Mill Pasture Field Haversham	Plain intaglio
	Haversham Hill Field, Haversham	Red jasper intaglio, eagle perched on anvil, with serpent in its claws, and blue paste intaglio, figure with 2 staffs.
	Field No. 45, Milton Keynes	Dolphin fibula
	Bow Brickhill	Bronze Roman bust
	Little Woolstone	Small copper alloy figurine
	Redmoor Copse, Potterspury	Phallic pendant

Table 6.33 Ritual or religious items in BD

Type	Location	Description
Altars/equipment for worship	Biddenham	Fragments of possible stone altar found in well (6.7.3)
	Kempston, Hillgrounds	Portable stone altar
Mercury and attributes	Hail Weston, Staploe	Bronze Mercury in 'barrow field', found 1820
	Sandy	Bronze plaque with head of Mercury
Eastern deities	Sandy cemetery	Cosmetic implement with Christian ChiRho
Other classical deities/mythological figures	Bell Inn Roxton	Lead alloy eagle
	Tempsford	Copper shaped eagle plaque, iron trident from statue (possibly of Neptune)
	Biddenham well	Possible statue of Bacchus
	Sandy	Bronze phalera of Medusa (or poss Mercury)
	Sandy	Possible Medusa head on handle of bronze jug
Minor and local deities	<i>Roxton</i>	<i>Venus figurines</i>
	<i>Sandy</i>	<i>Sculpture of three local deities</i>
Miniature weapons	Bell Inn Roxton	Miniature axe
	<i>Bletsoe cemetery</i>	<i>Miniature axe</i>
	<i>Kempston</i>	<i>Miniature axe</i>
Wheel symbols	Bell Inn Roxton	Two wheel symbols
Other items	Pavenham	(Possible) pendant in shape of winged phallus
	Biddenham well	Owl/bird relief

Table 6.34 Curated artefacts

Artefact	Context	MK	BD
EIA pots	LIA		Ursula Taylor School: Posthole (ritual deposit) including 5 EIA pots
IA pots	2 nd to 4 th century		Norse Road West Stagsden, East Stagsden Kempston
IA coin (Dubnovellaunus)	3 rd c		Kempston (burial 3931)
Early <i>Verulamium</i> mortaria	3 rd c	Bancroft villa	West Stagsden
39 brooches, 1 st c date	3 rd c		Kempston
Samian	3 rd c	Thornborough Temple Fenny Stratford Bancroft villa Potterspury Wavendon Gate Walton Cosgrove	Roxton Harrold Pit Odell Harrold Kiln Radwell West Stagsden Kempston
Samian	4 th c		Harrold Kiln, Bletsoe cemetery Kempston
Part of Bronze Age palstave	4 th c		Kempston (Pit G552)
Bronze patera of first century date	4 th c	Olney Hyde	

Table 6.35 IA coins

BD	No.	MK	No.
Gallo-Belgic (Group 1)			
Clapham	2	Evenley	1
Kempston	1	Little Horwood (RB hoard)	2
Odell	1	Walton	1
Potton	1		
Sandy	3		
Wootton	2		
	10		4
British (Group 2)			
Biddenham, Cople, Willington, Wootton (1 each)	4	Bletchley (<i>Magiovinium</i> area)	2
Sandy	14	Buckingham, Deanshanger (Briary Wood), Gayhurst, Stanton Low, Grafton Regis	5
Kempston	2	Evenley	8
		Little Horwood (RB hoard)	8
		Newport Pagnell	2
		Whittlebury	3
		Shalstone	38
	20		66
South-east/early Eastern (Group 3)			
Bedford, Biddenham, Cranfield, Kempston, Wootton	5	Buckingham, Danesborough, Deanshanger (Briary Wood), Fenny Stratford, Gayhurst, Shenley, Westbury (Bucks)	7
Sandy	15	Bletchley	2
Odell	6	Bradwell (Bancroft)	3
		Clifton Reynes (Rines Hill)	2
		Haversham	4
		Evenley	23
		Milton Keynes	2
		Newport Pagnell	5
		Old Stratford	2
		Paulerspury	3
		Potterspury	2
		Stanton Low	2
		Thornborough	9
	25		67
Later Eastern (Cunobelin) (Group 4)			
Odell	8	Evenley	37

Later Eastern (Cunobelin) (Group 4)			
Sandy	23	Thornborough	17
Kempston	2	Haversham	3
Bedford	2	Bradwell (Bancroft)	2
Biddenham	2	Clifton Reynes (Rines Hill)	2
Eastcotts, Cotton End	2	Milton Keynes	8
		Deanshanger (Briary Wood)	2
		Lillingstone Dayrell	2
		Newport Pagnell	2
		Shenley	2
		Westbury, Bucks	2
		Little Horwood	2
		Bow Brickhill, Fenny Stratford, Little Woolstone, Potterspury, Stanton Low, Walton, Weston Underwood, Ashfurlong (Olney)	8
	39		89
North-east (Group 5)			
None		Evenley, and Westbury Bucks	2
West (Group 6)			
None		Evenley	11
		Paulerspury	1
		Stowe	1
		Walton MK	1
			14
South (Group 7)			
None		Danesborough	1
East Anglian (Group 8)			
None		Rines Hill and Danesborough	2
South west (Group 9)			
None		Bradwell (Bancroft)	1
BD Total	95	MK Total	225

Table 6.36 Percentages of mortaria from larger excavated sites in MK

	Ver	Oxford	Mancetter-Hartshill	Northants Beds, north Bucks	Lower Nene	Other	Total mortaria
Caldecotte	7.6	65.4	7.6	19.4			26
Bancroft villa and mausoleum	1.44	82.6	1.44	4.34	4.34	4.84	69
Stantonbury	5.26	81.57	5.26	5.26	2.63	0	38
Wood Corner	3.12	84.37	9.37	3.12	0	0	32
Wymbush	0	70	10	10	0	10	10
Wavendon Gate	0	89.4	5.3	5.3			19
Potterspury	Oxfordshire 65-85%.						

Sources: Marney 1989: Table 6; Williams *et al* 1994: 195; Meek *et al* 2000: 31

Table 6.37 Verulamium pink and white wares

Site	%	Context	Reference
Wavendon Gate (MK)	1.41	All LIA/RB fabrics	Williams <i>et al</i> 1996: 177
Woughton (MK)	0.12	Later second century assemblage	Marney 1989: 23
Monkston (MK)	4.4	Assemblage dating from AD 1-250	Davis and Bull 2004: 56
Kempston (BD)	0.39	Whole assemblage	Dawson 2004: 496
East and West Stagsden (BD)	0.77	Late first to early second century	Dawson 2000a: 64
Peartree Farm (BD)	<1%	Total RB assemblage	BCAS 1995b:32 (27 sherds out of total RB assemblage of 4426)
Marsh Leys Areas 1 & 2 (BD)	3%	Total assemblage	Albion 2002b
Wilstead (BD)	2%	Total assemblage	Albion 2002a

Table 6.38 Percentages of NVCC and OCC in MK assemblages

	Date	NVCC (Fab 6)	OCC (Fab 24)
Caldecotte (MK44)	Early to late 2 nd c	0.3	0
Woughton (MK297)	Mid to late 2 nd c	2.6	0
Saxon Street (MK313)	Late 2 nd c	1.5	0
Woughton (MK297)	Very late 2 nd c	4.3	2.1
Willen (MK269)	Late 2 nd to mid 3 rd c	12.5	1.7
Wymbush (MK211)	Mid to late 3 rd c	0	0.5
Monkston (all sites)	Post 250 AD	28.7	44.9*
Wymbush (MK211)	Late 3 rd c	0	4.0
Wymbush (MK211)	Early to mid 4 th c	4.5	13.5
Wymbush (MK211)	Mid 4 th c	2.7	15.8
Bancroft (MK105)	Mid to late 4 th c	10.9	19.6
Caldecotte (MK354)	Mid to late 4 th c	11.6	14.5

* Monkston fabrics refers to all Nene Valley and Oxfordshire wares, not only colour coats.

Table 6.39 NVCC and OCC in BD

	Date	NVCC (Fabric R12B)	OCC (Fabric R11D)
Harrold Kiln Ph 3* (Brown 1994: 59)	Later 2 nd c	4 v	0 v
Harrold Kiln Ph 4 (Brown 1994: 63)	Later 3 rd c	8 v	2 v
Harrold Kiln Ph 5 (Brown 1994: 74)	Early 4 th c	7 v	6 v
Harrold Kiln Ph 6 (Brown 1994: 78)	Later 4 th c	10 v	17 v
Sandy (BCAS 1996: 18)	All phases	In 614 contexts	In 101 contexts
Bletsoe cemetery (Dawson 1994: 38)*	4 th c	11%	None
E and W Stagsden (out of 2476 vessels) (Dawson 2000a: 66)	All phases	5 v	1 v
Kempston (out of total sherds of 19948)	4 th c	357 (1.79%)	3 (<1%)
Peartree Farm (BCAS 1995b: 32) (total sherds 4426)	3 rd – 4 th c	236 (5%)	78 (2%)
Radwell (out of 94 vessels)	3 rd – 4 th c	10 (10.6%)	5 (5.3%)

*Harrold: illustrated vessels only. Bletsoe: no OCC fabrics noted, but Oxford red wares were present. v= vessel

Table 7.2 Dating of villas

Area	Villa name	Date	Ref
North	Piddington	Stone-founded proto-villa c 75. Stone villa c 140.	(RB and DE Friendship Taylor 2007: 4-5)
	Redlands Farm, Stanwick	Later second century	Parry 2006: 152-153
	Woodford Villa	Later second century	Parry 2006: 201
	Borough Hill, Daventry	Possibly late 1 st c	Neal and Cosh 2002: 24
	Whitehall	LRB	http://www.whitehallvilla.co.uk/
	Mileoak, <i>Lactodurum</i>	Hypocaust and villa layout by AD 100.	Black 1994: 104
	Wootton, Northampton	Late 2 nd to early 3 rd c	Chapman <i>et al</i> 2005: 90
West	Islip	Early to mid 2 nd c	Henig and Booth 2000: 108
East	<i>Durovigutum</i> , Rectory Farm	2 nd c	Neal and Cosh 2002: 49
	Landwade, Cambs	Late 2 nd c	Browne 1977: 20
	Arbury Road, Cambs	4 th century	Neal and Cosh 2002: 49
South	Gadebridge Park	Late 1 st c	Niblett 2001: 98
	Gorhambury	About AD 100	Neal <i>et al</i> 1990: 8
	Lockleys	About AD 100	Niblett 2001: 98
	Dicket Mead	Late RB	Niblett 2001: 106
	Park Street	Late 1 st to early 2 nd c	Niblett 2001: 98
	North Church villa, near Cow Roast	Early second c	Thompson 2005
	Boxmoor	Late 1 st c	Mattingly 2006: 383
Study area	Bancroft	End of first century	Williams and Zeepvat 1994: 135
	Stanton Low	Early second century	Woodfield 1989: 135
	Cosgrove	Mid second century	Quinnell 1991: 4
	Stantonbury	Later second century	Zeepvat 1987b: 101

Table 7.3 Items associated with literacy

	Location and description of find
North	
Monumental inscription	Stanwick villa: fragment of monumental marble inscription, reading ‘T...F’ (Hassall and Tomlin 1992: 312) Also monumental inscription: stone slab, bearing fragments of inscription (Hassall and Tomlin 1986: 324)
	Irchester: tombstone of ‘strator’ (RIB 233)
Inscription on copper-alloy fragment	Aldwinkle: inscription, part of military diploma, Hadrianic (Tomlin and Hassall 2004: 343)
Styli	Titchmarsh (Curteis <i>et al</i> 1999: 174). Bozeat: two styli (Meadows <i>et al</i> 1992: 81). Piddington villa: several styli (R Friendship-Taylor, pers. comm.) Daventry, Borough Hill villa (Hanson and Conolly 2002: 159) Overstone (farmstead) (Hanson and Conolly 2002: 157) Potter Hill, Norton Disney, villa (Hanson and Conolly 2002: 159)
Graffiti on pottery	Piddington and Irchester (RIB 2503: 114) Collyweston (RIB 2503.428) Stanwick jar, inscription (of potter) fired into shoulder, CRAVIRIUS...IICIT. (Hassall and Tomlin 1994: 306) Ashton: graffito on DR20 amphora: ..IIRGIUS (Sergius?) (Hassall and Tomlin 1987: 371)
Graffiti on samian	Piddington: graffito on samian cup sherd(CAN)DIDA (Hassall and Tomlin 1993: 318)
Graffiti on tile	Piddington: second century tiles stamped T C V and TIB. CL. SEVERI Other tiles with ‘signatures’ of tile makers (Ward 1999: 65)
Other items	Piddington: Langton Down brooch, inscribed on spring cover (RIB 2421.49) Also two fragments of wall plaster with graffiti (RIB 2447.32, a and b)
	<i>Lactodurum</i> , lead bar, inscribed with name of emperor Hadrian (RIB 2404.67)
	<i>Lactodurum</i> and Higham Ferrers: glass vessels with text moulded on bases (RIB 2419.129 and 2419.145)
West	
Monumental inscriptions	Alchester: fragment of inscribed Purbeck marble (Hassall and Tomlin 1992: 312) Alchester: inscribed tombstone of retired legionary c AD 60 (Sauer 2005b: 102-108) Woodeaton: engraved gravestone (Henig and Booth 2000: 116)
Writing equipment	Bicester: writing tablet (Mattingly 2006: 461) 2 nd century, rural site
Graffiti/samian	Alchester (RIB 2501)
Graffiti on pottery	Mortarium, Churchill Hospital Oxford (Henig and Booth 2000: 119) At least 4 other examples of graffiti on pottery (Henig and Booth 2000: 119)

	Location and description of find
Other items	Wood Eaton: gold leaf amulet, possible votive/charm (RIB 2430.2) and several other votive plaques (Henig and Booth 2000: 117) Alchester, bone roundel, inscribed.....QUINTIANI...(Tomlin and Hassall 2004: 344)
	Alchester, inscribed bronze weight (CAES.AUG) (RIB 2412.99)
	Alchester (brooch, moulded, AVCISSA on base) (RIB 2421.7)
South	
Monumental inscription	<i>Verulamium</i> : Flavian inscription on public building in Forum (Niblett 2001: 73).
Writing equipment	Gadebridge Park villa: 3 styli; Boxmoor Station villa, H.Hempstead: 1 stylus; Dicket Mead villa: 4 styli (Hanson and Conolly 2002: 158) Gorhambury villa: 17 styli, 4 sealboxes (Neal <i>et al</i> 1990: 130, 149) Skeleton Green: 2 styli (Partridge 1981: 72) Ruxox: 2 styli (Dawson 2004: 413) <i>Verulamium</i> : sealbox, base of seal box, and stylus (Niblett <i>et al</i> 2006: 149) Eggington Beds, Sandridge Herts (Woodcock Hill), Boxgrove Farm Herts, Hooks Cross Herts, Wymondley villa, Totternhoe villa: one stylus each (Hanson and Conolly 2002: 157-158)
Graffiti on samian	<i>Verulamium</i> , Baldock (11 examples), Dunstable (2), Henlow Park, Puckeridge, Skeleton Green (Gallo-Belgic ware and samian), Totternoe, Braughing (RIB 2503.58) Welwyn: graffito on samian bowl (Tomlin and Hassall 2004: 341)
Graffiti on pottery	<i>Verulamium</i> : cremation urn, late Augustan cemetery at King Harry Lane 'ANDOC' (Hassall and Tomlin 1988: 501) Dunstable (RIB 2503: 114), Gadebridge Park (7), Baldock (RIB 2503.248 and 2503.597) <i>Verulamium</i> : (RIB 2503.430) and 25 others Gorhambury: pot base 'Ian... be.latomus' (Neal <i>et al</i> 1990: 167) Braughing: graffito on LIA pot reads 'CIINATIN' (RIB 2503.225) Bishop's Stortford (Tomlin and Hassall 2003: 373)
Graffiti on tile	Gorhambury: 'K...S' (possibly Kalands of September) (Neal <i>et al</i> 1990: 167).
Other items	Gorhambury, 3 intaglio rings (Neal <i>et al</i> 1990: 167)
	Baldock, moulded on glass bottle base, 'MAP' (RIB 2419.125)
	<i>Verulamium</i> , Mithraic token, Greek inscription (RIB 2408.2)
	<i>Verulamium</i> , lead sealing, inscribed in Greek (RIB 2411.265)
	<i>Verulamium</i> , three graffiti on wall plaster (RIB 2447.35, 36 and 37)
	Baldock, lead sealing 'CVIC' (RIB 2411.261)
	Maulden (Ruxox): pipeclay figurine, near base, inscribed '...VSFEC' (RIB 2456.10)
	Baldock, inscribed bronze weight (RIB 2421.36) Near Baldock, inscription to Senuna (Table 7.5)
	Sandridge Herts, bronze 'brush holder', inscribed with maker's name: 'AGATHANGELUS' (Tomlin and Hassall 2000: 440)
East	
Monumental inscription	<i>Durobrivae</i> (Sawtry) : possible boundary stone of <i>Durobrivan</i> territory (RIB 230)

	Location and description of find
Writing equipment	Godmanchester, Parks cemetery. Iron stylus in grave fill (Jones 2003: 41) London Road Godmanchester, iron stylus (Jones 2003: 132) Godmanchester, Rectory Farm (villa): stylus (Hanson and Conolly 2002: 15)
	Colne Camp Ground, Cambridgeshire (village), London Brick Company, Peterborough (village), Horseheath, West Wickham, Cambridgeshire (villa), Ickleton, Cambridgeshire (villa): at least one stylus at each (Hanson and Conolly 2002: 158)
Graffiti	Godmanchester (Rectory Farm villa), pewter bowl, bearing graffito I.LIUS (Tomlin 1991: 303)
	Godmanchester, London Road. 3 Graffiti, on samian platter, and 2 greyware jars (Tomlin and Hassall 2000: 438)
Other items	Cambridge: two inscribed bone roundels (Tomlin and Hassall 2000: 438).
	St Neots silver spoon: inscribed 'DIV VIVAS' (Hassall and Tomlin 1988: 495)
	Orton Hall Farm, farmstead. Red jasper intaglio, inscribed with image of figure driving horse and trap (Mackreth 1996: 96)

Table 7.4 RB temples and shrines

Region	Urban	Rural
North	<i>Lactodurum</i> : 2 or 3 temples (Taylor <i>et al</i> 2002b: 19-20) Ircchester (Smith 2001: 244) Titchmarsh (Taylor 2002g: 10)	Brigstock (Smith 2001: 191) Collyweston (Smith 2001: 233) Stanwick (temenos around barrow) (Parry 2006: 170)
South	Baldock, Bakers Close (Thompson 2005) <i>Verulamium</i> (Smith 2001: 209, 259) Ware (Thompson 2005) Braughing (Thompson 2005)	Senuna shrine, near Baldock (Fitzpatrick 2006: 411-443) Wood End Lane (Smith 2001: 264) Annables, Harpenden (Thompson 2005)
East	<i>Durovigutum</i> (Jones 2003: 87) Castle Hill Cambridge (Going 1997: 40) <i>Durobrivae</i> (Fincham 2004: 33-34)	Mutlow Hill, Cambs (Smith 2001: 25) Little Paxton, Cambs (Dawson 2000c: 143)
West	Alchester (two): Henig and Booth 2000: 121 Samsons Platt (Winton 2001: 306-307)	Woodeaton (Henig and Booth 2000: 20) Stratton Audley (Booth in prep: 11)
Middle and Upper Ouse Valley	Kempston	Bourton Grounds, Thornborough Cosgrove Bancroft

Table 7.5 Items with ritual or religious associations

North	
Brafield	LIA miniature dagger (Friendship-Taylor and Hollowell 1993: 149-151)
Piddington villa	Miniature axe on pin head, bronze head of Mercury (R.Friendship-Taylor, pers. comm.)
Bozeat	Fortuna intaglio (B. Martin, pers. comm.)
Corby	Bronze eagle on globe (Green 1976: 180)
Ashton	Lead tank, ChiRho symbol (RIB 2416.13)
Little Houghton	Fragment of base of glass vessel, with raised wheel symbol (Green 1984: 356)
Kettering	Bronze wheel-shaped artefact (Green 1984: 324); Medusa head, axe-headed pin, and other items (Green 1976: 180)
Islip	Bronze wheel-shaped artefact (Green 1984: 325)
Lactodurum	Alchester Road, silver votive axe (Brown <i>et al</i> 1983: 102)
Irchester	Inside temple, torso of Mercury, head of faun, head of pipe-clay Venus, possible Jupiter column and altar (Green 1976: 180)
Brigstock	Variety of votives, including bronze horses and riders, miniature weapons, bronze leaves from crowns (Green 1976: 181)
Deene	Bronze figurine of Minerva (Green 1976: 181)
Corby	Broze eagle on globe (Green 1976: 180)
Hinwick	Bronze horseman (Green 1976: 180)
Higham Ferrers	Bronze ring with 2 snake heads (Andy Mudd, pers. comm.)
West	
Woodeaton	Coins, votive weapons, intaglio rings, statues of Apollo, Mercury, Minerva and Venus, inscribed plaques, relief of Mars, figurine of Harpocrates, letters spelling out Mars (Henig and Booth 2000: 122, 126; Bagnall Smith 1996: 178-193) 4 bronze axe models (Green 1984: 327) 2 bronze joined snakes, sceptre binding etc (Green 1976: 197-198)
Alchester	Jeweller's mould for rings and bracelets, with snake-head terminals (Henig and Booth 2000: 134) Bronze axe, bronze bull figurine (Green 1976: 178)
Oxford	Bronze eagle figurine (Green 1984: 369)
South	
Ruxox	Pipe-clay Venus figurines (Dawson 2004: 433) (90 have been found here over the years, one of which was a Dea Nutrix)
Gorhambury	Several pipeclay Venus figurines (Neal <i>et al</i> 1990: 162)
Hitchin	Bronze Mercury and Hercules (Green 1976: 207)
Baldock	Pipeclay Venus figurine (Stead and Rigby 1986: 168) Dea Nutrix: Central Gaulish pipeclay figurine (Burleigh <i>et al</i> 2006) Lead curse (Green 1976: 208)
Near Baldock	Silver figurine of Minerva/Senuna (Burleigh <i>et al</i> 2006: 284)
Sheffield	Lead eagle (Green 1976: 207)

South	
<i>Verulamium</i>	Bronze eagle, bronze wheel model (Green 1984: 369, 324) Bronze snakes, triple vase, glass Medus medallion, pipe clay Venuses, Bronze Apollo etc (from temple sites) (Green 1976: 206) Harpocrates figure (Worrell 2005: 460)
Dunstable	‘Ritual shaft’ – bone tablet dedicated to Mars Sediae (Green 1976: 205)
Welwyn	Haematite Egyption amulet (Green 1976: 208)
Old Welwyn	Miniature spear, Dea Nutrix figurine (Green 1976: 208)
Letchworth	Medusa cameo (Green 1976: 208)
Luton	3 triple vases (Green 1976: 205)
Boxmoor villa	Bronze Mercury (Green 1976: 205)
Totternhoe	Bronze winged phallus (Green 1976: 180)
East	
Oundle	Bronze bust of Minerva (Green 1976: 206)
Cambridge (St Johns)	Altar to Apollo (Green 1976: 210)
<i>Durobrivae</i>	Water Newton treasure (Christian)
Castle Hill Cambridge	Bronze Mercury and Hercules (Green 1976: 210)
Orton Hall Farm	Pipeclay Venus figure (Mackreth 1996: 102)
Girton College Cambridge	Relief of Mars (Green 1976: 105)
<i>Durovigutum</i>	Temple: Minerva bust, pipeclay Venuses, votive crown (Green 1976: 209)

Table 7.7 Large settlements (LIA and/or RB)

Type	Name	Total size if known (ha)*	Public buildings
North			
Small town	<i>Lactodurum</i> (Watling St, Alchester Road) (Taylor <i>et al</i> 2002b: 12) (defended area only)	12	M, T
	Duston (on road to <i>Bannaventa</i> and <i>Lactodurum</i>) (Taylor 2002f: 6)		
	<i>Bannaventa</i> (Watling St) (Taylor 2002d: 5)	16-22	
	Irchester (on north/south crossing of Nene) (Taylor 2000b: 6) (defended area)	8	T
	Titchmarsh (Gartree Road, Nene crossing) (Taylor 2002g: 10)	?	T
	Ashton (<i>Durobrivae</i> -Titchmarsh Road, Nene crossing) (Taylor 2002b: 6)	15	
	Kettering: road between Irchester and Gartree Rd) (Taylor 2002c: 6, 8)	12-16	M possible
Other settlements	Stanwick (Parry 2006: 39)	40	T
South			
Large town	<i>Verulamium</i> (Watling St) (Jones and Mattingly 1990: 81)	79	M, T
Small towns	Baldock (roads between Braughing, <i>Verulamium</i> , on Icknield Way junction) (Thompson 2005)	40	T
	Braughing, junction Ermine Street, Stane Street, and road to <i>Verulamium</i> (Thompson 2005)		M and T possible
	Dunstable, at crossing of Icknield Way and Watling Street	14	
Other settlements	Ware, on Ermine Street (Thompson 2005)	3	T
	Welwyn, on <i>Verulamium</i> to Braughing road (Thompson 2005)		
	Cow Roast on Akeman Street (Thompson 2005)		Possible temple
West			
Small towns	Alchester (Mattingly 2006: 329)	10.5	M, T
Other settlements	Samson's Platt, on Akeman St (Winton 2001)	5	Both possible
	Kings Sutton, on side road to <i>Lactodurum</i> (Taylor 2002e: 6)	8-12	?
	Middleton Stoney (Henig and Booth 2000: 67-68)		

East			
Large town	<i>Durobrivae</i> (Mattingly 2006: 329)	18	T
Small town	<i>Durovigutum</i> (Mattingly 2006: 329)	8-11	M, T
	<i>Duroliponte</i> (Going 1997: 40)		T
Study area			
Small towns	<i>Magiovinium</i> (Watling St) (Hunn <i>et al</i> 1997: 60-61)	8	M possible
	Sandy (on side street of Ermine Street to Godmanchester to Baldock) (Dawson 2004: 72)	10	M possible
	Kempston (no road proven) (Dawson 2000c: 125)	10	Small shrine
Other settlements	Ashfurlong (possibly on Viatores Route 174)		

* Total size (including extramural area unless otherwise stated, and at greatest extent). Information on *mansiones* from Black 1995.

Appendix 3 Gazetteer

Level 2 sites include site number, type, bibliographic references and description. For Level 3 sites where there is sufficient information, this is also given. Where no reference is given, the source is the SMR or HER (Heritage and Environment Record, for Bedfordshire).

Ashfurlong, MK

Site name	Data level	SMR reference	Grid reference
Ashfurlong, Olney	L3	1128 to 1134	SP 8952
Sources			
Zeepvat 1987			
Description			
<p>Very little has been published on the settlement at Ashfurlong, which lies west of the river as it flows north-east to Bedfordshire, and possibly on a road between <i>Magiovinium</i> and Irchester (Viatores 174/175). Large numbers of Roman coins, together with other artefacts, were found here in the 19th century. Ashfurlong was subjected to minor excavations in 1955, 1958 and 1960 and is now a Scheduled Monument. As well as stone foundations, finds include roof and flue tile, wall plaster, window glass, coarse and fine wares, and a bronze Mercury statuette.</p> <p>An excavation in Spring 2005, at Aspreys, about 500m to the west of Ashfurlong, found evidence of LIA and RB occupation, and a small section of Roman road foundation, apparently leading towards the settlement (I Lisboa, pers. comm.). There are many cropmarks here, triple and double ditched boundaries, round barrows, and trackways, as well as enclosures and possible structures (Fig 6.29). The settlement, which may have covered 25 ha, has been proposed as a market centre for the north of the Milton Keynes area (Zeepvat 1987: 14).</p>			

A43 sites, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	Grid reference
Biddlesden Road Bridge		L3		
Brackley Hatch	45	L2	1	SP 6040
Great Ouse Culvert	46	L2	1	SP 6441
Silverstone Fields Farm	30	L2	1	SP 6846
SL2	44	L2	1	SP 6846
SL3		L3		
Syresham	47	L2	2	SP 6140
Sources				
Mudd 2002				
Description				
<p><i>Syresham</i>: lies to the south-west of Silverstone, Northamptonshire, and, like the sites below, was excavated as part of the A43 Dualling Project. The Alchester to <i>Lactodurum</i> road passes some 5 km to the east. This site consists of a small IA enclosure, succeeded by areas of Roman occupation possibly covering 6 ha, and including a pottery kiln and iron smelting furnace.</p> <p><i>Biddlesden Road Bridge</i>: IA site, dispersed pattern of small enclosures, some defining roundhouses. Also 3 iron-smelting furnaces.</p> <p><i>Brackley Hatch</i>: Roman settlement site, two early Roman pottery kilns, ditches and pits.</p> <p><i>Great Ouse Culvert</i>: Partially excavated site, likely to extend beyond road corridor, where LRB pottery, several sherds with graffiti, roof tile and box flue tile were found.</p> <p><i>Silverstone Fields Farm</i>: IA and ERB settlement site, pits and roundhouse gullies, within large enclosure. A smaller enclosure within yielded five infant burials and a partially articulated cow in the boundary ditch.</p> <p><i>SL2</i>: IA and RB settlement. A large rectangular enclosure, with one roundhouse.</p> <p><i>SL3</i>: IA and ERB site with pits, enclosures and roundhouse gullies.</p>				

Bancroft, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR	Grid reference
Bancroft mausoleum	2	L2	12/6	3360	SP 8240
Bancroft villa	68	L2	4	3105	SP 8240
Sources					
Williams and Zeepvat 1994					
Description					

Bancroft villa and mausoleum lie about 1 km south of the Ouse, and 3 km to the east of Watling Street. Both the villa, located on the banks of the Bradwell Brook, and the mausoleum, on higher land about 400m to the north, were excavated on behalf of Milton Keynes Development Corporation, in the 1970s and the 1980s respectively. The mausoleum site was inhabited from the Bronze Age onwards, and contained a second-century mausoleum, a fourth-century shrine, and Roman cremation and inhumation cemeteries. The villa consisted of a late first to early second-century house, farmyard and trackways, with outbuildings and walled gardens, which was replaced in the third century by a smaller but well-appointed building, and replaced in a more luxurious form in the mid fourth century.

While the mausoleum site was only of Size 1, the villa site was somewhat larger and classified here as Size 2. The only evidence of architectural elaboration at Bancroft mausoleum was the imposing structural masonry of the mausoleum itself, and *tesserae* and painted wall plaster, all dated to between the second and fourth centuries. Occupation moved from the mausoleum site to the site below, near the brook, at the end of the first century AD, where the early villa consisted of an aisled house with attached bath suite, farm buildings, a cobbled trackway and farmyard, and walled enclosures. One room (Building 7, Room 2) had marine wall paintings (Williams and Zeepvat 1994: 597). There was also a 'sauna', an unusual complex, lying to the north of the house, of which the main element was a plunge pool. It has been compared to a *laconicum*, which would normally be found only in military or public bath houses, as opposed to a villa (Williams and Zeepvat 1994: 154).

A fire destroyed much of the site at the end of the second century, and there was little activity between the late second and late third century, when the second villa house was constructed. This consisted of a main range with small wing rooms, and included a bath site. Room 4 of the baths was decorated with marine scenes, but there was apparently no other embellishment at this stage. In its mid fourth to early fifth century phase, there were further structural alterations and a formal garden and fish pond were added. A polygonal building, perhaps a shrine, was also constructed (Williams and Zeepvat 1994: 175). During this period a number of fine mosaics were laid, and the villa was described as 'exceptionally well-endowed for a medium-sized winged-corridor villa', due to their quality (Smith 1987: 114).

Towards the end of the second century, a substantial and imposing stone construction was built on the spur overlooking the villa. Two large stone-lined culverts were laid to drain away groundwater from the foundations. A cremation, possibly in a wooden box, was found in the floor of the ambulatory, and may have been a foundation deposit. A subterranean burial vault was constructed beneath the *cella*, which contained plinths, likely to have held two massive sarcophagi (stone or lead). The remains of at least four individuals were found in the destruction layers of the temple. It is thought they may have been scattered when the sarcophagi were removed, possibly in the fourth century. There may also have been cremations here, preceding or contemporary with the inhumations, and it is suggested that the building may have been used for other family burials (Williams and Zeepvat 1994: 93, 101).

The mausoleum, which consisted of two concentric squares, was in a prominent position, and would have been visible from a distance. Towards the end of the fourth century a small circular stone shrine, some 30m to the west, was constructed. This was a much less substantial building, with no evidence of architectural elaboration. A central pit contained 13 coins, 2 iron votive spear tips, and a semi-articulated skeleton of a young pig. Six more votive spearheads and many more coins were found within or nearby the shrine. A burial of an almost complete, butchered, goat only 8m from the shrine may also have been contemporary. One coin was associated with the mausoleum itself, but 29 came from the circular shrine.

Burial evidence from the mausoleum site, apart that that within the building itself, consisted of a cremation cemetery spanning the whole first century AD, which was well-organised in a linear fashion, and possibly defined by boundaries or other markers. The cemetery contained 17 cremations. The villa site produced only fragmentary human remains, possibly post-Roman in date.

Biddenham Loop, BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	Grid reference
F5 (cemetery L20)	16	L2	1	TL 0148
F5 (cemetery L126)	17	L2	1	TL 0148
F5 (isolated burials)	18	L2	1	TL 0148
Farmsteads 5 and 6	19	L2	1	TL 0148
F6 (isolated cremations)	72	L2	1	TL 0148
F8 (was F6)	73	L2	2	TL 0148
F13/F14	74	L2	2	TL 0149
Sources				
Luke in prep; Malim 2000				
Description				
<p>Biddenham Loop is enclosed by an exaggerated meander of the Ouse, just west of Bedford, and contains an area of prehistoric and RB activity (Malim 2000: 80). The RB settlement at Kempston lies on the south west side of the river, which is fordable here. At least four separate farmsteads were located within the Loop, spanning the LIA to second century, with an additional two in the second century. Activity continued beyond that date, but the reports were not unavailable at the time of writing (2007). Two of the farmsteads (Farmstead 10, and Farmsteads 13/14) were rather larger and their later stages have been categorised as Size 2.</p> <p>A number of cremations and inhumations were found within the area, including a cremation cemetery associated with Farmstead 6/8, containing some relatively high status burials. However, there was little difference in ceramic finds, which are of low status in all of the farmsteads. Later first and early second century burials included Cemetery L39, grave cluster 492: of 12 graves, all but three had several accessory vessels, some of which were copies of imported fineware. Two of the three peripheral cremations in G493 contained 7, and 4, vessels, and another a knife, earscoop, and nail cleaner, while two of the cremation urns contained a brooch. All the contained unburnt joints of pork, and some cremated animal bones mixed with cremated human bone (Luke in prep). In general however, cremations were of low status – as were the few inhumations. The exception was inhumation G146, contained in a cist of stone slabs.</p> <p>A possible shrine, dating to the later first century, was located at some distance from the northern farmsteads. This was a small post-built building, G382, surrounded by a ditch which contained many iron nails, a few pottery sherds and animal bone fragments. The nails suggest that the structure may have been weather-boarded. The enclosure was around four metres square and the square building within it was three metres square. A large central feature, possibly a grave or a foundation plinth, may have been the focal feature of the building (Luke in prep). The structure was located along a track, several hundred metres from the nearest farmstead (F8).</p> <p>Further excavations are now (2008) taking place in the area, for the Bedford Western Bypass.</p>				

Biddenham South Field, BD

Site name	Data level	HER reference	Grid reference
Biddenham South Field	L3	3663; 325	TL 0247
Sources			
SMR			
Description			
This and a nearby site (which produced cremations) are situated to the south-east of the Biddenham Loop Level 2 excavated sites. South Field produced flue tiles and evidence of a 'substantial building', accompanied by pottery including Samian and colour-coated wares, later first century coins, and a brooch of conquest date. Road metalling was found near a (postulated) ford on the river.			

Biddenham well, BD

Site name	Data level	HER reference	Grid reference
Biddenham well	L3	330	TL 0150
Sources			
SMR; Simco 1984			
Description			
A stone-lined well, 12m deep, was found in 1857, to the north of the Biddenham Loop sites. It contained RB pottery, and samian, a human skeleton, fragments of an altar, and sculptures of an owl and of a human torso, identified as Bacchus. There were also the remains of two dogs, a horse, an ox, and wild animals, a boar's tusk, and a bird, described as a 'stork'. The animals all appear to have been deposited entire, as separate events. A leather shoe was also present (Simco 1984: 57, 98). A drawing of the well and contents shows the objects deposited layer by layer, resembling a structured deposit. However, although the main RB deposits are in the bottom 8m, this may have been laid down over the years, if not decades or centuries.			

Bletchley, Saffron Gardens, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
Bletchley, Saffron Gardens	5	L2	1	3401	SP 8833
Sources					
Curteis 2001; Waugh <i>et al</i> 1974					
Description					
A LIA decapitated inhumation was found here, together with a large depression 6m by 2.5m, with four burnt stones and a great deal of pottery on top, and a number of unidentifiable metal finds in the vicinity. Nearby were three postholes and some beam slots, and the site was identified as a ritual location, owing to coin deposits (Curteis 2001: 196). However, elsewhere these were interpreted as a bank revetment or wharf (Waugh <i>et al</i> 1974: 373).					

Bletchley, Sherwood Drive, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
Bletchley, Sherwood Drive	93	L2	1	3100	SP 8633
Sources					
Curteis 2001; Green 1974; Mynard 1987: 40					
Description					
A small stone building, open on one side and with traces of burning outside, was found. The large number of valuable metal finds here suggest this was no ordinary rural site (Curteis 2001: 196) (Table 5.21). These included coins, a hoard of bronze jewellery and of sheet bronze, some of which resembled the 'sceptre-binding' at Woodeaton, and an iron assemblage of over 50 items, including a miniature knife and a candlestick (Green 1974).					

Bletsoe, BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	HER	Grid reference
Bletsoe Grange and cemetery	67	L2	8	307	TL 0158
Sources					
Dawson 1994; Esmonde Cleary 2000b: 130					
Description					
<p>This site, to the east of the Ouse and north of Bedford town, was originally named Bletsoe villa when coins and human remains, and also a column base (now lost), were found in 1936. However, it is now known as Bletsoe Grange, and recent excavations have revealed no further evidence of villa status, although a fourth century inhumation cemetery was located nearby (Dawson 1994: 1, 61). The presence of the column base may indicate that there was a high status building in the vicinity, but this is as yet unproven; however, villas were sometimes accompanied by cemeteries, as at Bancroft (Esmonde Cleary 2000b: 130).</p> <p>The cemetery was excavated between 1967 and 1970, and a total of 56 graves, the majority aligned north-west/south-east, were found. There were few grave goods, but about half of the graves contained stone packing, stone-lining or pillow stones (Table 5.10).</p>					

Blue Bridge, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
Blue Bridge, Milton Keynes	89	L2	1	MK360	SP8240
Sources					
Mynard 1987: 24					
Description					
Building materials, several miniature iron weapons					

Brackley Hatch (see A43)

Bradwell Abbey Barn, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
Bradwell Abbey Barn, Milton Keynes	91	L2	1	MK63	SP 8139
Sources					
Green 1970; Mynard 1987: 21					
Description					
A palisaded gully, possibly forming a livestock enclosure, associated with pits and ditches of 2 nd to 4 th century date. Graffiti on animal bone also found.					

Bromham, BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	HER ref	Grid reference
Bromham	14	L2	1	975	TL 0152
Sources					
Tilson 1973					
Description					
A LIA and RB occupation site close to the Ouse, where evidence included pits, ditches, traces of circular houses, and pottery					

Bromham Road, Bedford, BD

Site name	Data level	HER reference	Grid reference
Bromham Road, Bedford	L3	249	TL 0450
Sources			
Simco 1984; SMR			
Description			
In spite of being found in the nineteenth century, there is a clear and detailed description of this site. Broken pottery, tiles, and burnt wood, animal bones and teeth, were located in a pit 1.5m deep. The base of the pit was lined with tiles and large stones. The site was subjected to a watching brief in 1986/7, but nothing further was found. Simco (1984: 97) noted that the pit contained a central mass of limestone and clay, which, like the rest of its contents, had been subjected to great heat. This may therefore have been part of a hypocaust system, or even a pottery kiln. However this explanation would not account for the burnt wood, animal bones and teeth, unless this was a structure put to some later (possibly ritual) use.			

Caldecote, Northill, BD

Site name	Data level	HER reference	Grid reference
Caldecote, Northill	L3	454	TL 1645
Sources			
SMR			
Description			
A funnel-shaped pit, resembling those at the Clapham Road Brickfield site, was located beside the Hitchin to Sandy road. It measured two metres across, with a trench on one side and steps cut down into it, and contained coins, pottery including Samian, and bronze artefacts. There was no evidence of burial, although that is a possibility; otherwise it could have been a kiln, later used as a rubbish tip, or a ritual deposit. The main find was made in the early twentieth century, but further RB pottery has been found more recently in the vicinity.			

Caldecotte, Milton Keynes, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
Caldecotte Mill Close	64	L2	7	3117	SP 8935
Berrystead Close	65	L2	1	3044	SP 8935
Caldecotte Kiln 1	66	L2	1	3044	SP 8935
Caldecotte Kiln 2	66	L2	1	3044	SP 8935
Sources					
Zeepvat <i>et al</i> 1994					
Description					
<p><i>Caldecotte Mill Close</i>: an isolated ditched enclosure, adjacent to which lay a second century cremation, and also a child inhumation.</p> <p><i>Berrystead Close</i>: RB occupation site. Nearby were <i>Caldecotte Kilns 1 and 2</i>, of first and second century date respectively.</p>					

Castle Mill Airfield, BD

Site name	Data level	Grid reference
Castle Mill Airfield, Bedford	L3	TL 0949
Sources		
Oetgen and Pixley 2003: 7		
Description		
This site is part of the Octagon Farm, Willington Quarry site, where an RB farmstead was found (Isobel Lisboa, pers comm.). There is a possible example of excarnation, where a stone-lined well contained large quantities of LIA and RB pottery, together with a fragment of human skull, comprising a possible ritual deposit. The skull shows defleshing marks. Interestingly, even in 2003 it was described as possibly 'residual from the surrounding prehistoric ritual landscape': there was no mention that it could have been of LIA or RB date.		

Clapham Road Brickfield, BD

Site name	Data level	Grid reference
Clapham Road Brickfield, Bedford	L3	TL 0551
Sources		
Dyer 1976		
Description		
In 1850, the excavation of a 'British burial place' found around fifty cremation burials, in funnel-shaped pits. The pits contained a layer of charcoal and ashes, then the urns surrounded by partly burnt ox, horse and deer bones. RB pottery and a bronze sword were also found. Burnt stones nearby suggest funerary ritual and/or feasting. This is a surprisingly detailed description for the time. These have been described as 'ritual shafts' (Dyer 1976: 17), and are included under both burial and ritual deposition (Tables 6.21 and 6.27).		

Cold Brayfield, MK

Site name	Data level	SMR ref	Grid reference
Cold Brayfield Spring Head	L3	1280	SP 9252
Sources			
SMR			
Description			
RB pottery, samian, tile, and several Roman coins were found around a spring, suggesting a possible ritual structure and associated activity.			

Colmworth, BD

Site name	Data level	HER ref	Grid reference
Colmworth, Three Horseshoes Farm	L3	14019	TL 1059
Sources			
SMR			
Description			
In the 1980s, pottery, including Samian and colour-coated ware, and <i>tesserae</i> and flue tiles, were found. Other items included two Roman coins, lead fragments, and a cornelian ring. Aerial photographs suggest that a villa type building was located here (Fig 6.14).			

Colworth, BD

Site name	Data level	HER ref	Grid reference
Colworth, Odell	L3	2669	SP 9759
Sources			
SMR; Dawson 2004: 74			
Description			
Described in the SMR as a Roman villa and small settlement, with a scatter of dressed building stone, roof and flue tile, and pottery including fine-wares.			

Constantine Way, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
Constantine Way, near Bancroft	82	L2	1	MK345	SP 8240
Sources					
Marney 1989: 12; Mynard 1987: 48					
Description					
A length of RB ditch, 250m north of Bancroft villa, containing a group of later first to early second century pottery.					

Cosgrove, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	Grid reference
Cosgrove villa and temple	78	L2	5	SP 7942
Sources				
Curteis 2001; Quinnell 1991				
Description				
<p>Cosgrove villa and temple is located nearly a kilometre from the confluence of the Tove and the Ouse. There may have been an early second-century single-roomed house before the villa was constructed in the middle of the century. It then consisted of at least seven rooms and an attached bathhouse, and elaboration included painted wall plaster and window glass. A timber shrine and agricultural buildings accompanied it. From the end of the second century, after about sixty years, the baths and possibly the main house were abandoned, although occupation may have continued in the original building. Meanwhile, the timber shrine was rebuilt as a square stone temple in the third century, and this was possibly still in use around AD 400, when the rest of the site was unoccupied. It was perhaps a religious site, used by visitors (Quinnell 1991).</p> <p>The timber shrine was square, with either an insubstantial ambulatory, or set within a fenced enclosure, and preceded a square stone temple, built on top of it later that century. The <i>cella</i> of the temple measured about 6m internally, and there was also an ambulatory. Two human skulls had been placed in the wall foundations adjacent to the entrance, and an inhumation was deposited in the floor of the <i>cella</i>, possibly in the fourth century. Pit W21 lay 1m to the north of the temple and has been interpreted as being associated with the burial of material from its refurbishment in the third century. The pit contained 39 late third century coins, as well as building rubbish such as painted wall plaster, and has been classified as a ritual deposit due to the presence of the coins (Curteis 2001).</p>				

Cotton Valley, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
Cotton Valley, Milton Keynes	81	L2	7	3071	SP 8840
Sources					
Marney 1989: 9; Mynard 1987: 21, 35-37					
Description					
A long, three-sided enclosure, with a ditch 3m wide and 2m deep, with 2 parallel narrow ditches, a number of pits and postholes. A child's cremation was found in an angle of the inner ditches, apparently, like other activity on the site, of later first century date.					

Deanshanger, Briary Wood, MK

Site name	Data level	Grid reference
Deanshanger, Briary Wood	L3	SP 7242
Sources		
Curteis 2001		
Description		
This site is in the vicinity of Deanshanger villa. 202 Roman coins (including Republican), rings, one with Mercury intaglio, bracelets, silver pins, querns, weights, copper alloy sheets (Curteis 2001: 212).		

Deanshanger villa, MK

Site name	Data level	Grid reference
Deanshanger villa	L3	SP 7639
Sources		
Brown and Taylor 2005; Green 1974; SMR		
Description		
A stone-built corridor villa, dating from late first century AD to mid fourth century, was excavated in 1957. The main range had a front verandah, and there was a sizeable side wing. There were extensive outbuildings, and a large courtyard with a stone-lined pond and evidence of fencing. This excavation, and a later one in 1972, found evidence of LIA or first century (R) occupation, in the form of a 10m circular structure, pottery and brooches. There were also two later smaller roundhouses dating to the third century, and agricultural buildings, barns and fencing (Green 1974: 8-9). Further excavation in 2004 showed surviving walls, in the south-east corner of the walled courtyard found earlier (Brown and Taylor 2005: 38).		

Deepdale, BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	Grid reference
Deepdale, Potton	63	L2	9	TL 2049
Sources				
Dawson and Slowikowski 1988				
Description				
An RB cremation cemetery of later first to early second century date, found at Potton, about 5 km east of Sandy Roman town. The cemetery was enclosed by a ditched boundary and contained at least 14 cremations. All were urned, there were a few accessory vessels and simple grave goods, representing perhaps a small and low status settlement.				

Downs Barn, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
Downs Barn, Milton Keynes	3	L2	1	MK210	SP 8640
Sources					
Last 2001					
Description					
A site excavated in 1999, revealing a system of linear and curvilinear ditches of LIA date, containing substantial amounts of pottery. There was also a paved area, c 3m x 4m, adjacent to an area of burning, and a pit containing burnt animal remains.					

Dovecote Farm, see Shenley**Eastcotts, BD**

Site name	Data level	HER ref	Grid reference
Mile Road, Eastcotts	L3	1623	TL 0647
Sources			
Dring 1972: 81			
Description			
A pre-Roman and RB site, where a square or rectangular building of conquest date was excavated			

Ecks Lane South, see Ivel Farm, Sandy**Emberton, MK**

Site name	Data level	SMR ref	Grid reference
Emberton well	L3	1151	SP 8850
Sources			
SMR; Toynbee 1964: 156, 328			
Description			
Four stone-lined wells were found in what is now Emberton Park. One contained the limestone slab carved with the Mercury figure, and several complete pots, and could be described as an example of ritual deposition.			

Evenley, MK

Site name	Data level	Grid reference
Evenley, Northamptonshire	L3	SP 5935
Sources		
Curteis 2001; Kidd 2004		
Description		
An area of approximately 25 ha, above the river Ouse in the far west of the study area, has been interpreted as an LIA and Roman religious site, due to the large number of coins, brooches and other votives found here (Kidd 2004: 60). These were spread out over the area, with no clear focus to their distribution (Curteis 2001: 458). At least one stone building (Table 6.9) has been located, and other finds of building materials and pottery, suggesting occupation. Metal goods include several thousand Roman coins found in 1826, another hoard of 23,000 coins in the vicinity, and 92 brooches (Curteis 2001: 458). At Fox Covert Site 3 an area 10m x 0.5m laid with stones, together with oyster shells, pot, and tile, possibly had some ritual purpose.		

Felmersham, see Sharnbrook**Fenny Lock, MK**

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	Grid reference
Fenny Lock	49	L2	1	SP 8834
Sources				
Ford and Taylor 2001				
Description				
A site near <i>Magiovinium</i> with occupation from mesolithic to Saxon. Roundhouses of MIA date, but no structural evidence of LIA date. Occupation moved to a nearby location in the later first century, when a large ditch was constructed, and within an enclosure were pits, postholes and roundhouse gullies. Nearby there were later RB phases, consisting of ditched enclosures, ring gullies and a structure rebuilt in stone. There were a number of burials here of LRB date, at least 6 inhumations and 2 cremations, the latter possibly of 4 th date. Skull fragments in a gully may represent excarnation.				

Fenny Stratford, see *Magiovinium***Finmere, MK**

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	Grid reference
Finmere, Foxley Fields Farm	61	L2	1	SP 6333
Sources				
Grundon 1999				
Description				
A site adjacent to the Alchester –Towcester Road, in north Oxfordshire. Ditches, pits, postholes and pottery of LIA to fourth century date were found.				

Foscott, MK

Site name	Data level	SMR ref	Grid reference
Foscott, near Buckingham	L3	7730	SP 7235
Sources			
Lewis 1992; RCHM 1913; SMR			
Description			
A stone house of considerable size, with baths fed from nearby spring by lead pipes, two water tanks, two plain tessellated pavements, and flue-tiles, this was excavated in 1837. There were at least two mosaics, one of which is preserved at Stowe in the floor of the Queen's Temple. Also present were parts of stone pillars possibly indicating a colonnade, 'architectural fragments', and painted and stuccoed walls. Many small finds suggest affluence, including pewter, bronze and silver items, and a shale table leg. Coins show fourth century occupation (RCHM 1913:115; Lewis 1992: 14). Although no plans have survived, there is sufficient evidence of villa-type layout and of luxurious appointment to allocate villa status to Foscott.			

Gayhurst, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
Gayhurst, Blacklands	59	L2	1	1346	SP 8546
Sources					
Fleming 1972					
Description					
At Gayhurst, overlooking the Ouse, two adjacent small stone roundhouses, of late first century to early second century date, were excavated. By the third century, these had been replaced by a corridor house, facing a gravel yard. The corridor was paved with limestone <i>tesserae</i> , and patterned with a red border, hence its classification of AE3. However, the building was of timber-frame construction with wattle and daub infill, and had, together with the earlier stone phase, thatched roofs (Fleming 1972: 6-7).					

Gayhurst Quarry, MK

Site name	Data level	Site type	Grid reference
Gayhurst Quarry	L2	9	SP 8546
Sources			
Chapman <i>et al</i> 1999: 17-20			
Description			
Gayhurst quarry, adjacent to the Ouse, a BA barrow cemetery and IA enclosures and a pit alignment. One ring ditch contained 3 LRB inhumations, one decapitated.			

Great Barford, Northend Farm, BD

Site name	Data level	Grid reference
Great Barford, Northend Farm	L3	TL 1153
Sources		
SMR		
Description		
LIA/RB type cropmarks (Fig 6.2). Fieldwalking yielded finds of second to fourth century date.		

Great Barford, Water End, BD

Site name	Data level	Grid reference
Great Barford, Water End	L3	TL 1555
Sources		
Northamptonshire Archaeology 2004: 5		
Description		
A small LIA/RB settlement discovered during investigations before the construction of the Great Barford Bypass contained at least six cremations and one infant inhumation. Most of the cremations were in tight scatters and may have been contained in some sort of bag. One was contained in an almost complete vessel and accompanied by greyware and a samian dish. The carbonised remains of a wooden casket possibly held a seventh cremation. There was also a neonate inhumation. As no cuts were observed around the burials it is thought they had been placed on the surface and protected by a mound.		

Great Brickhill, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
Great Brickhill, Milton Keynes	76	L2	7	CAS 4395	SP 9030
Sources					
Allen 1979					
Description					
Two urned cremations, one accompanied by a poppy head beaker, the second by a pedestal urn. Both however of AD 100-150 date.					

Great Ouse Culvert, see A43**Hanslope, MK**

Site name	Data level	SMR ref	Grid reference
Hanslope, Ringcell A	L3	4769	SP 8148
Sources			
SMR			
Description			
A tessellated pavement or mosaic, roof and flue tile, and building stone, suggest a substantial building.			

Harrold, BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	HER ref	Grid reference
Harrold Kiln site	62	L2	2	1182	SP 9355
Sources					
Brown 1994					
Description					
<p>This tile and pottery manufacturing site lies about 1 km north-west of the Ouse, near Harrold. Kilns making calcite-gritted Harrold ware were constructed from the late first century and were in use until at least the fourth century. However, the tile kiln operated only in the later second century, and again, in the later third to middle fourth century. The only features in the area covering the site were pits, and the nine kilns. The pits, dug to extract clay for the industry, yielded a great deal of imported pottery, samian and regional, which has been used to date the Harrold products. They also indicate domestic occupation nearby. The site was an important supplier of coarse kitchen wares to the Ouse area from the second century onwards, and survived, if not flourished, in spite of increasing competition from the Upper Nene Valley, and soft pink grog, industries (Brown 1994).</p>					

Harrold, Meadway, BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	Grid reference
Harrold, off Meadway	9	L2	1	SP 9557
Sources				
Shepherd and Walsh 1999: 2				
Description				
<p>A site with BA ring ditch and Saxon occupation. A small LIA cremation cemetery lay 15m from the ring ditch.</p>				

Hartigans, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
Hartigans, Milton Keynes	4	L2	1	MK330	SP 8838
Sources					
Williams 1993					
Description					
<p>This site, now Oakgrove, yielded pottery of LIA and first century R date</p>					

Haversham, MK

Site name	Data level	SMR ref	Grid reference
Haversham	L3	1693	SP 8343
Sources			
Green 1970; Mudd 2006; SMR			
Description			
<p>The many sites and finds at Haversham (at least eight separate locations are recorded: the GR given here is for Hill Farm) indicate a large and possibly wealthy settlement. For example, at Briton's Piece, foundations of stone buildings, <i>tesserae</i>, pottery and tile were found, in an area of many other RB finds. Over the last century or more, large numbers of coins and other items have been collected here, near buildings which were identified as 'trading centres' (presumably due to the large number of coins found in the vicinity): there is also the remnant of a stone quay at Haversham (Green 1970). The site has not been subjected to full-scale investigation but a recent (2002-4) small excavation at Hill Farm revealed occupation evidence from the mid first century until the later RB period. A substantial ditch, possibly of LIA date, suggests earlier occupation. This was filled in before the construction of stone or stone-founded buildings in the later first century.</p> <p>Ceramic building materials and painted wall plaster were also found. The site yielded a very large proportion of finewares; 50 percent (by weight) of the total assemblage was samian. Of 110 vessels, only 10 were cooking or storage jars, suggesting that this was a specialised dining area, rather than a general domestic one (Mudd 2006). Across the river to the south of Haversham lies the site of Stanton Low, where a possible bridge, perhaps connecting the settlements, was recorded. Haversham has been interpreted as being a large but ill-defined area of occupation, of similar size (Size 3) and complexity (Mudd 2006: 17). However, in spite of the many metal finds here, Haversham has not been interpreted by Curteis as a religious site, unlike Stanton Low. Whatever the nature of the two settlements, it seems likely that they had close links, based on a road crossing of the river.</p>			

Holne Chase, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
Holne Chase, Milton Keynes	90	L2	1	3045	SP 8633
Sources					
Mynard 1987: 30-32					
Description					
<p>There were two stone-founded buildings at this site, one a rectangular structure with no architectural elaboration, and the other a simple corridor building, of second century date, with the presence of <i>tesserae</i>, flue tile, and painted wall plaster. The latter was possibly in use until the fourth century.</p>					

Ickwell, BD

Site name	Data level	HER ref	Grid reference
Ickwell, Church Field	L3	425	TL 1445
Sources			
Simco 1984			
Description			
<p>In 1845 two inhumations were found with three glass vessels, Samian, and a lamp hanger (Simco 1984: 51). One of the glass vessels was of first century date, so these burials could represent the rite of earlier (crouched) inhumation.</p>			

Ivel Farm, Sandy, BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	Grid reference
Ivel Farm, Sandy	26	L2	1	TL 1846
Sources				
BCAS 1998a				
Description				
A LIA and RB site, adjacent to the River Ivel, and abandoned when waters rose in the LRB period. A farmstead with domestic and outlying agricultural enclosures, served by a spinal trackway. LIA cremations were also found.				

Ivel Farm (Ecks Land South), BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	Grid reference
Ecks Land South, Ivel Farm	25	L2	1	TL 1846
Sources				
Thorpe 2003				
Description				
Isolated cremation, LIA date, two complete pedestal urns, cremation deposit on top, covered with wooden lid and infilled.				

Kempston Hillgrounds, BD

Site name	Data level	HER ref	Grid reference
Kempston Hillgrounds	L3	256; 1191	TL 0348
Sources			
Simco 1973; Simco 1984; SMR			
Description			
North of Bedford Road, at Hillgrounds, a cemetery of LIA/RB date was discovered in 1890, adjacent to a Saxon cemetery. It was located above the Ouse, to the south of the river, and the east of Biddenham Loop. On the west of the Loop was located the RB settlement of Kempston Church End. The first finds at Hillgrounds consisted of 17 vessels, mostly complete, in a deep depression, resting on a stone slab. None contained human remains, but two contained bronze tweezers and a <i>ligula</i> . In the same pit were later found six more urns, containing bones. A nearby depression produced two more pots and many burnt stones, charred wood, and bones, while another pit contained a great deal of broken pottery. Over the years, LIA vessels such as pedestal urns, and butt beakers, as well as Samian and Bronze Age collared urns have been found here. The site has been described by Simco in a note in the SMR (Sept 84) as an example of continuity of burial from the Bronze Age to the Saxon period.			

Kempston Church End, BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	HER ref	Grid reference
Kempston Church End	70	L2	3	162	TL 0147
Sources					
Boylston <i>et al</i> 2000; Dawson 2000b; Dawson 2004; Esmonde Cleary 2000a; Luke <i>et al</i> 2005(b)					
Description					

The Roman settlement at Kempston lies to the west of the river Ouse, opposite the Biddenham Loop (see below), and north-west of the modern town of Bedford. There is evidence of activity in the area from at least the Bronze Age period, in the form of several ring ditches at Cutler Hammer Sportsground, about 1 km to the south of the settlement (BCAS 1999: 33). To the south-east, burials of LIA/ERB date were found at Hillgrounds, and south of that, a Saxon cemetery (Kennett 1973: 99). The SMR reports many 19th and early 20th century finds in the area of All Saints' Church, Kempston Church End, and in 1971 more were discovered during building work. In the field to the south metal-detecting and field-walking have yielded metal items, bone, and ceramics.

In 1990 and 1991 investigation for the Bedford Southern Orbital Sewer revealed settlement at Kempston from the late first century to mid third (Phase 2), which covered an area of 6.8 ha. The main features were two roughly parallel north/south trackways, and a grid of small enclosures oriented on the trackways. The focus appeared to be in the north of the excavation, where at least three buildings, one possibly partly of stone, and three possible funerary enclosures were located. Many of the other enclosures produced evidence of occupation in the form of pits, postholes or wells, as well as cremations and one inhumation. This phase has been interpreted as the establishment of a new settlement, with land allotments, water provision, housing, and metalled tracks, in Roman style.

Phase 3 (mid third to early fourth century) saw extension of the settlement, still focussed on the trackways, more structures, two of which were stone and stone-founded, and the establishment of a formal enclosed cemetery. A polygonal, possibly ritual, building was also erected, near the cemetery. Phase 4 (early to mid fourth century) saw some contraction, and perhaps a shift to the south of the site, together with a later roundhouse and continuation of the cemetery. Further decline in size of the settlement, and re-organisation of the cemetery, occurred in Phase 5 (mid to later fourth century) (Dawson 2004: 38-52).

Both cremations and inhumations were in the main unfurnished or of low status. The only possible example of Level 3 was 3986, a Phase 5 burial which contained metal items including a lock-plate, thought to have come from a sizeable box or casket. Also, adjacent was found the possible plinth of a funerary monument, composed of flat limestone slabs. The burial was one of those with its own enclosure, rectangular in this case. In the fourth century, eleven inhumations were enclosed in pennanular enclosures with the cemetery enclosure itself. The enclosures varied in size between 2.2m x 4.4m, and 3.5m x 4.7m, and each had a break in the circuit. All were adult burials and two were decapitated: three enclosures were conjoined, and might represent a family (Dawson 2004: 227). The decapitations and prone burials in the cemetery are discussed in detail in Boylston *et al* 2000.

The polygonal building at Kempston (from phase 3), has been interpreted as a temple/shrine, similar to that at Bancroft villa. Although only three sides of the Kempston example remained, it appeared to have been 10-sided, and 6-7 metres across. The structure was stone-founded with a timber superstructure, and was interpreted as a shrine because of its proximity to the cemetery (some 100m away), the find of 17 coins in a nearby pit, and a silver coin hoard, also in the vicinity (Dawson 2004: 202-203). The shrine was used into Phase 5 (late 4c) and there were also two (possibly) ritual pits nearby.

Excavations in 2004 at Kempston Box End, just to the north of Church End, revealed an extension to the cemetery, containing 38 more inhumations, of which some were in coffins, and one was decapitated, and possible continuation of the enclosures and trackway systems found earlier. In addition, pottery in some of the enclosure ditches indicated that they might have originated in the LIA (Luke *et al* (b): 2005: 1-4). The excavations at Cutler Hammer had also revealed evidence of MIA, LIA and RB occupation. It therefore appears that Kempston Roman settlement extended both to the north and the south of Church End. Further excavations to the south of Church End have also recently taken place. However, even in 2000, it was suggested that the settlement might have attained over 20 ha at its largest (Esmonde Cleary 2000a: 409).

Kempston was initially interpreted as a large village comprising several small farms within a street grid (Dawson 2000b: 125). More recently it has been seen as a planned settlement, which was either attached to a villa estate, or was a veteran establishment. This conclusion was reached for two reasons: first, the land allotments were not large enough for arable or pastoral use, and access to surrounding land would not have been easy because farm workers would need to pass through the whole settlement to reach it. Therefore it was unlikely that individuals worked their own land holdings. Second, the majority of the dead appeared to have been male and many had injuries consistent with heavy work and/or fighting injuries. Evidence suggests that this was a conservative community, where a few members may have been reasonably affluent (Dawson 2004: 63-66).

Keysoe, BD

Site name	Data level	HER ref	Grid reference
Keysoe, north of Keysoe Row East	L3	13742	TL 0861
Sources			
SMR			
Description			
This site consists of a rectangular enclosure, about 125m x 100m, with a broad ditch, situated round the head of a former watercourse, with an entrance in the south east side. A small rectangular feature, possibly a building, lay over the watercourse. The SMR records this as a very unusual site, and possible temple enclosure (Fig 6.21).			

Kiln Farm, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
Kiln Farm	88	L2	1	3082/ 3025	SP 8039
Sources					
Mynard 1987: 36-37					
Description					
A site just north of Watling Street and west of Bancroft, occupied from the later first century to second.					

Lavendon, MK

Site name	Data level	SMR ref	Grid reference
Lavendon	L3	1284	SP 9054
Sources			
SMR			
Description			
IA and LIA occupation, and dense settlement over a large area from the second to fourth century. The stone footings of a rectangular building, pottery, flue and roof tiles, and <i>tesserae</i> , were located, together with a possible kiln.			

Little Woolstone, MK

Site name	Data level	SMR ref	Grid reference
Little Woolstone	L3	3109	SP 8639
Sources			
SMR			
Description			
A great deal of metal finds retrieved from this area over the years			

Loughton, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
Loughton Valley, Milton Keynes	83	L2	1	MK307	SP 8237
Sources					
Mynard 1987					
Description					
A site some 0.5 km from Bancroft villa, yielding occupation evidence of late first to second century date.					

Magiovinium, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
<i>Magiovinium</i> Site 17 Area 1	40	L2	3	1690	SP 8933
<i>Magiovinium</i> Site 17 Area 2	41	L2	3	“	SP 8933
<i>Magiovinium</i> Site 17 Area 3	39	L2	3	“	SP 8933
<i>Magiovinium</i> Site 18	42	L2	3	“	SP 8833
<i>Magiovinium</i> (Fenny Bypass)	43	L2	3	“	SP 8933
Sources					
Hunn <i>et al</i> 1997; Neal 1987; Waugh <i>et al</i> 1974; Woodfield 1977; Zeepvat <i>et al</i> 1974; Black 1995					
Description					
<p><i>Magiovinium</i> is situated on Watling Street, some 25 km from <i>Lactodurum</i> (Towcester), and 20 km from <i>Durocobravis</i> (Dunstable). The most recent report available is that of the Fenny Stratford Bypass, excavated in 1990-1991, which incorporated a summary of Neal's findings from excavations ten years earlier (Hunn <i>et al</i> 1997; Neal 1987). As with all RB sites with later and modern occupation, it has not been possible to excavate the whole area or obtain a full perspective on this small Roman town. The site was of Size 2 in the earlier second century, but later that century had attained Size 3.</p> <p>There was LIA occupation at Saffron Gardens, on the opposite bank of the Ouzel from Dropshort Farm where <i>Magiovinium</i> later developed. At Dropshort itself there were also LIA field systems. There was further LIA settlement a couple of kilometres to the north east near the Ouzel, at Caldecotte (Waugh 1974; Zeepvat <i>et al</i> 1974). The IA hillfort at Danesborough lay 2 km to the south-east, on the scarp of the Greensand Ridge at Woburn, and it is thought that a fort was established to guard both this, and the crossing of the Ouzel, shortly after the Roman invasion (Mynard 1987: 8). A double-ditched enclosure to the east of the Roman town has been tentatively identified as an auxiliary fort of pre-Flavian date (Woodfield 1977). However, later excavations revealed little to confirm that the settlement originated as a <i>vicus</i>, and Watling Street, rather than the proposed fort, had greater influence on the settlement, and accounted for its linear settlement (Hunn <i>et al</i> 1997: 3).</p> <p>Although part of the town was walled, possibly in the later second or early third century, to the south-east regular land allotments bordered the road for nearly a kilometre, and it is thought that these were laid out using Roman measurements (Neal 1987: 30). A number of these plots were used for iron-smithing, possibly producing cartwheels and horseshoes. Many ditches contained large deposits of equine bones and semi-articulated carcasses, suggesting that the town provided services for travellers and for those transporting supplies of the local sand (Neal 1987: 22-24, 30).</p> <p>There is little artefactual or structural evidence to suggest that the town was other than of relatively lowly status (Hunn <i>et al</i> 1997: 59-64). However, recent excavation in 2003 produced more evidence of iron working and cemeteries, together with flue tiles, painted plaster, and finewares, which have led to the suggestion that a <i>mansio</i> existed nearby (6.3.4; 6.6.2) (I Lisboa, pers comm). A <i>mansio</i>, would, of course, be one explanation for iron-working and the abundance of horse remains.</p> <p>The town has yielded a great deal of cemetery evidence. Most burials here were of low or moderate status. An interesting example of status (as opposed to wealth) is a burial from <i>Magiovinium</i> Site 17, Area 1. An early second century unurned and unaccompanied cremation, in a rectangular ditched enclosure, was reused in the fourth century for an inhumation, accompanied by a fine bronze bracelet. The original burial was possibly surmounted by a mound, resembling an IA square barrow (Neal 1987: 17). This would have rendered it visible into the later RB period.</p> <p>The SMR yielded two further cemeteries at <i>Magiovinium</i>. At the Bathing Station, Little Brickhill, north west of Auld Fields, 46 inhumations have been found over the years, and a recent, incomplete, excavation also found inhumation and cremation burials (Isabel Lisboa, pers comm).</p> <p>In 1990 a coin manufacturing hoard in the east of the extramural area of the town, adjacent to Watling Street, was found. It consisted of 3 coarse ware vessels containing copper alloy coin blanks and possible iron coin dies (Zeepvat 1994: 1).</p>					

Marsh Farm, Carlton, BD

Site name	Data level	HER ref	Grid reference
Marsh Farm, Carlton	L3	1781	SP 9555
Sources			
SMR			
Description			
Field walking in 1973 revealed dressed masonry (some burned), roof and flue tile, and LRB pottery. Aerial photographs show ring ditches, as well as linear cropmarks, and enclosures (Fig 6.30).			

Marsh Leys, BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	Grid reference
Marsh Leys Area 1	15	L2	2	TL 0245
Marsh Leys Area 2	71	L2	2	TL 0245
Sources				
Albion 2002b				
Description				
<p>Marsh Leys lies to the south-west of Bedford, about 1.5 km from Kempston Roman settlement. Two adjacent and separate, but similar, farmsteads each occupied over two hectares from the first century (R), including associated field systems. Occupation began in the LIA and continued into the later RB period. Cremations and inhumations were associated with both farmsteads, of relatively low status, and the sites are of particular interest from the point of view of ritual deposition.</p> <p>Area 1 may also have included a shrine (Albion 2002b: 9). This feature was listed in the spreadsheets as being of first century (R) date, but could possibly have originated in the LIA. A continuous gully enclosed an area seven metres wide, thought to have surrounded a square building. Possible structural elements were two postholes, and two short slots. The gully contained a few sherds of pottery, fired clay, and one fragment of animal bone. A larger sub-rectangular ditch, which contained more sherds, animal bones and iron nails, enclosed the square enclosure, and opposite its entrance was an alignment of postholes. This building was tentatively identified as a shrine, mainly on account of its square shape. A relatively high number of Roman coins were found here (48) of mainly third and fourth century date, together with weights and a steelyard which might suggest later ritual use – or market activity.</p>				

Marston Moretaine, Beancroft Road, BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	Grid reference
Beancroft Road, Marston Moretaine	13	L2	1	SP 9941
Sources				
Shotcliff and Crick 1999				
Description				
An Iron Age site, about 10 km south west of Bedford, where pits, ditches, and a single urned cremation were found. A curving gully might represent part of a roundhouse gully.				

Mill Farm, Cardington, BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	Grid reference
Mill Farm, Cardington	55	L2	7	TL 0848
Sources				
Clark 1990b				
Description				
Site adjacent to Ouse, yielding pottery of first to fourth century date. Roman ditches respected ring ditch, suggesting mound was still visible. Two Roman burials found within ring ditch, possibly buried in this mound; one in coffin.				

Monkston, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	Grid reference
Monkston Area 1	79	L2	1	SP 8838
Monkston Area 2	33	L2	1	SP 8838
Monkston Area 3	34	L2	1	SP 8838
Sources				
Davis and Bull 2004				
Description				
<p>The Monkston sites are located to the east of the Ouzel in Milton Keynes, and were excavated between 2001 and 2003. Enclosures to the north (Area 2) and the south (Area 1) of the site indicated continuous activity from the LIA to the 4th century AD. There was evidence of metalworking, smithing and crop processing, a dispersed cremation cemetery, and boundary ditches. To the east lay another area of activity, consisting of a north/south boundary ditch and 2 ‘horse-shoe’ enclosure (Area 3). Cremations were found in all 3 sites; Area 2 yielded a total of at least 8, 7 of LIA date, and 1 of first century R. Area 1 produced 3 early second century cremations.</p> <p>At least two of the burials in the LIA cremation cemetery were of Level 3 status. Cremation 2360 contained seven complete vessels, all finewares, including a wine flagon secured with copper ribbon. In addition, there were six copper alloy brooches. Cremation 2362 contained a Gallo-Belgic flagon and beaker; a bowl, jar, lid and cup in grog-tempered fabric, and five brooches. Both cremations were unurned.</p> <p>A later RB (AD 270-400) structure in Area 2 was described as having a possible ritual function. It was constructed of dry stone and timber, and rectangular shape, although only one corner survived. The internal fill contained 50% animal bone (unspecified), and two unburnt human phalanges – possibly remains from cremation deposits, for fingers could drop off the pyre unburnt. There were also seven fourth century coins in the deposit overlying the structure (Davis and Bull 2004: 99, 35). Monkston as a whole produced a total of 129 coins, excavated, and metal-detected, adding to the suggestion of ritual use here.</p>				

Newnham, BD

Site name	Data level	HER ref	Grid reference
Newnham	L3	986	TL 0749
Sources			
SMR; Simco 1984			
Description			
This site, to the south of the Ouse and in east Bedford, consisted of a stone building, with several rooms, set in a rectilinear field system. Hypocaust remains, possibly part of a bath house, painted wall plaster, and finewares, suggest a degree of prosperity. However some rooms had cobbled floors, and therefore an apparently utilitarian purpose, indicating that this was perhaps just a prosperous working farm.			

Norse Road, Bedford, BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	Grid reference
Norse Road, Bedford	22	L2	1	TL 0851
Sources				
Edgeworth 2001				
Description				
A site to the east of Bedford, about 500m to the north of the Ouse. A small farmstead occupied from MIA to second century AD. A densely interwoven pattern of enclosures, drove-ways and boundary ditches, with no clear focus of settlement. Evidence suggests a mainly pastoral and mobile economy.				

Odell, BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	HER ref	Grid reference
Harrold Pit, Odell	29	L2	1	543	SP 9556
Odell cremation cemetery	10	L2	1	543	SP 9556
Sources					
Curteis 2001; Dix 1980, 1981; Kennett 1976					
Description					
<p>The excavations at Odell have not been fully published and information has come from a number of sources. The site, to the west of the Ouse, in north-west Bedfordshire, was occupied from the early first century AD to the fourth century. The site originated as two roundhouses, rebuilt several times, within a ditched and fenced enclosure. There were smaller enclosures, perhaps animal pens. Towards the end of the first century, occupation moved to a nearby location and took the form of circular and rectangular structures, frequently rebuilt. A larger rectangular farmhouse, with several rooms, was built later in the RB period – in timber (Dix 1980; 1981).</p> <p>There were two small cremation cemeteries outside the farmstead at Odell. The first, dating to about 0 to 25 AD, contained six unaccompanied but urned cremations; three of these were accompanied by human skull fragments. The second, dating perhaps to 25-50 AD, contained five urned and urned deposits, accompanied by unburnt pig bones, bronze brooches, and 28 pots altogether. Was the difference in rite between the two groups due to fashion, or status? Several unfurnished inhumations of post conquest date were found near the two LIA cemeteries used in the Level 2 data. In the second century, a small grave held a human skull only (Kennett 1976: 86).</p> <p>This is an interesting site, where the human skull appears to have been used for ritual purposes. It has also been suggested that this was a ritual location. Curteis' research has produced further information about the site, including the fact that nearly all the cremations were female, and that in one of the cemeteries the graves, most of which also contained infant remains, were arranged around a central pole. The presence of skull fragments and pig bones in the cemeteries, and the plough burial nearby, are further suggestions of ritual. Furthermore, the severed female head in the well was placed on a horse pelvis. Coins were found in a number of deposits (and were therefore not casual losses), especially in pits, and accompanied by brooches, toilet instruments, oyster shells, pottery, human bone and quern-stones. The latter were frequently found in temple sites and are thought to have been associated with fertility. The two roundhouses at Odell were perhaps used for ritual purposes – since they were not the norm for domestic buildings in the third century – and boundaries and an entranceway were marked by coins. LIA and RB human remains, possibly excarnated, were also found, deposited together with coins (Curteis 2001: 189-192).</p>					

Old Stratford, Firs Farm, MK

Site name	Data level	Grid reference
Old Stratford, Firs Farm	L3	SP 7841
Sources		
SMR		
Description		
A pit, 1.5m deep, contained a black ash layer with pottery, bones, tiles, and samian. A coin hoard was found nearby. It is not clear why it is referred to as a 'foundation pit' in the SMR record.		

Old Stratford, MK

Site name	Data level	Grid reference
Old Stratford	L3	SP 7641
Sources		
SMR; Curteis 2001; RIB 215; Green 1976: 179		
Description		
A possible temple site, indicated by a votive hoard buried in a pot consisting of silver plaques, ceremonial head dress, horse-trappings, fibulae and other objects, was found in 1789. The plaques carried inscriptions to Jupiter, Mars and Volcanus. Recent metal detector finds include two votive axes, a silver double serpent ring, and a copper alloy model tortoise (Curteis 2001: 465-6). A total of 1250 coins have been collected over the years. The nature of the finds, together with the location of the site, adjacent to Watling Street and the Ouse, suggest that this may have been a temple. Two Colchester brooches and two Tasciovanian coins hint at early use. The SMR also records ditched enclosures here, and limestone scatter, suggesting that this was actually the site of a temple structure.		

Olney, see Ashfurlong

Olney Hyde, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
Olney Hyde	77	L2	1	1729	SP 8854
Sources					
Petchey 1979					
Description					
A first century patera, or bronze 'frying pan', possibly of ritual purpose, found at Olney Hyde, close to Ashfurlong, in a 3 rd or 4 th century context. It was in a stony layer in a ditch, together with pottery, tile and building stone.					

Paulerspury, MK

Site name	Data level	SMR	Grid reference
Paulerspury	L3	4763	SP 7146
Sources			
SMR			
Description			
<p>Paulerspury lies on Watling Street in south Northamptonshire. At least four groups of burials on or adjacent to the Roman road are listed in the SMR, as shown in Table 6.21. In the area between Kirby Farm and Watling Street a large number of human bones, including those of infants, have been ploughed up over the years, along with RB pottery, including some of first century date. The fact that these were inhumations at this stage, rather than cremations, is possibly significant: it suggests that they were casual burials. A nineteenth century report states that this was a ‘haphazard burial’ and ‘possibly a massacre of a considerable village population...’ (SMR 4763). This site (Cuttle Mill) has been (tentatively) proposed as the scene of Boudica’s last battle, with Suetonius Paulinus (Evans 2006).</p>			

Paulerspury, Park Farm, MK

Site name	Data level	Grid reference
Park Farm, Paulerspury	L3	SP 7144
Sources		
Curteis 2001		
Description		
<p>Rings, weight, ‘bronze ritual rattle’, jet counter, nail cleaner, glass furniture fittings (Curteis 2001: 213).</p>		

Pavenham, BD

Site name	Data level	HER ref	Grid reference
Pavenham, north of High Street	L3	11958	SP 9855
Sources			
SMR			
Description			
<p>This was originally thought to have been a windmill tump, about 1.5 m high. A scatter of limestone, and RB roof tile, were the only finds. New (1996) cropmarks appear to show a classic corridor villa, on south-facing slope overlooking valley. A further range is possible, to the south-west of main buildings (Fig 6.15).</p>			

Pavenham East End, BD

Site name	Data level	HER	Grid reference
Pavenham East End	L3	1819	TL 0155
Sources			
SMR; Pigott 1974			
Description			
This is a double rectangular enclosure, 500ft x 600ft, defined by a broad ditch, and overlying more irregular linear features and a curvilinear enclosure. It lies 250m west of the river, above the flood plain, and dominates an almost circular meander. RB pottery has been found around the area. The site is now a Scheduled Monument, and has been interpreted as a villa or temple: however, there are no recorded finds of votives or metal deposits. It was also compared it to a <i>Viereckschanze</i> : a ‘sacred enclosure in Celtic tradition’ (Piggott 1974: 181) (Fig 6.20).			

Peartree Farm, BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	HER ref	Grid reference
Peartree Farm, Elstow	56	L2	1	1625	TL 0446
Sources					
BCAS 1995b; Woodward 1977					
Description					
A LIA and RB settlement or farmstead. RB phases date from the 2 nd to 4 th century. The settlement focus was not easily defined, consisting of a trackway and surrounding enclosures (Fig 6.5). Two RB isolated inhumations, one an infant in the floor of a building, were also found.					

Potterspury, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	Grid reference
Potterspury Potterspury, Redmoor Copse	94	L2 L3	1	SP7442
Sources				
Curteis 2001; Meek 2000				
Description				
Excavated in 1997, this site 8 km south-east of <i>Lactodurum</i> is located close to Watling Street. There was occupation here from the LIA to the early fourth century. At least 3 circular structures, of second or third century date, were excavated, together with a possible second century rectangular building. Although architectural and ceramic evidence suggest the site was of low status in the ERB, in the later period it may have become more prosperous, and/or perhaps a meeting or market site, judging by the coin and metal finds here and at Redmoor Copse. At the latter site, pottery sherds, a phallic pendant, several silver spoons, 179 Roman coins and other metal goods were found (Curteis 2001: 468). However, Curteis does not list this site as one of possible ritual activity, possibly because finds were confined to those of RB date, apart from one Tasciovanian coin.				

Potterspury, Wakefield Lodge, MK

Site name	Data level	Grid reference
Potterspury, Wakefield Lodge	L3	SP 7342
Sources		
SMR		
Description		
<p>This site was found in 1959, during the dredging of an ornamental lake which produced dressed limestone, <i>pilae</i>, roof and flue tiles, pottery, <i>tesserae</i>, and window glass. A mosaic found in the nineteenth century may have come from here. Other finds in the vicinity include red painted wall plaster, glass fragments, and oxhorn and staghorn fragments, as well as six coloured horse teeth. The last three items possibly had some ritual significance, but the find context is unknown. It is likely that Wakefield Lodge was of villa status, judging by the associated finds, but there was no evidence of a villa layout.</p>		

Radwell, BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	HER ref	Grid reference
Radwell	69	L2	1	1797	TL 0157
Sources					
Hall 1973					
Description					
<p>This site, to the south of the Ouse in north-west Bedfordshire, lies in an area of occupation from LBA to LRB periods. Features include an enclosure ditch containing mid first century AD pottery, and four inhumations in coffins, apparently of just post-conquest date. Later in the RB period, the Radwell site consisted of a number of enclosure ditches, apparently associated with a large farm complex. Although the only building located appears to have been timber, to the south-east of the site stone, occupation debris, window glass and hypocaust and decorated roof tile suggest the presence of a higher status building.</p>					

Ravenstone, Black Furlong, MK

Site name	Data level	SMR ref	Grid reference
Ravenstone, Black Furlong	L3	1112	SP 8455
Sources			
SMR			
Description			
<p>Black Furlong occupies a south-facing slope, about 1 km to the north of the Ouse, and close to a small stream. A section of possible hypocaust was excavated, together with nearby stone wall foundations, and a great deal of tile and pottery (Table 3.11) (Fig 6.3)</p>			

Rines Hill, Newton Blossomville, MK

Site name	Data level	SMR ref	Grid reference
Rines Hill	L3	1953	SP 9151
Sources			
SMR			
Description			
<p>This site lies on high ground above the Ouse, some 3km to the south-east of the settlement at Ashfurlong. The footings of a possible stone roundhouse of third or fourth century date were excavated in the 1980s by a local archaeological society. The structure may have been incorporated into a villa-type range of rectangular rooms, for linear walls were found abutting on the circular one. An aerial photograph taken a few years later confirmed that this was the case (Fig 6.16).</p> <p>Rines Hill produced hypocaust tile, and one 'tessera' was also found. A large number of coins have also been found here, including IA issues (219 Roman coins, inc 2 of Vespasian (B.Martin, pers. comm.)).</p>			

Roxton, west of Bell Public House, BD

Site name	Data level	HER ref	Grid reference
Roxton, west of Bell PH	L3	13979	TL 1657
Sources			
SMR			
Description			
<p>A number of regular rectilinear enclosures, including a straight double-ditched trackway, are located about 500m from the Ouse. RB pottery, and much high-quality RB metalwork, have been found here.</p>			

Roxton, BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	HER ref	Grid reference
Roxton	31	L2	10	617	TL 1553
Sources					
Taylor and Woodward 1983					
Description					
<p>This site, just north of the Ouse, at its confluence with the Ivel, is indicated by cropmarks covering around 350 x 300 m. These include small field enclosures, dating from the first century, some of which cut several of the five ring ditches located here. Yet a longer boundary of LIA date appears to have protected the cemetery from the east, running down to the river. The site was farmed until possibly the third century, and in the post Roman period, but may have been abandoned due to erosion by the river, or flooding, during the LRB period. There was some temporary, seasonal, occupation here, but it is thought that the main settlement existed nearby, above the flood plain.</p> <p>Ritual and religious activity may have taken place at Roxton. A large quantity of cattle bones were retrieved from the LIA boundary ditch, some of which were stained with red ochre, possibly for ritual reasons. Fragments of two pipe-clay 'Venus' figurines were also found at the Roxton site. They were tentatively dated to the mid second century and were mass-produced copies made in Central Gaul. Venus figurines are thought to have been associated with water cults and were perhaps votive offerings at a possible shrine, as at Condate, at the confluence of the Rhône and Saône.</p>					

Saffron Gardens, see Bletchley

Salford Quarry, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
Salford Quarry	8	L2	2	7721	SP 9240
Sources					
Clark 1991; Dawson 2000b; Luke <i>et al</i> 2003; Luke <i>et al</i> 2005a; Petchey 1978					
Description					
<p>This is a well-preserved IA settlement, containing 21 hut circles, in an enclosure at least 200m x 150m, with a long palisade to the east. There were two ring ditches on the site, one of which was crossed by the enclosure ditch. Five cremations, carefully lined up between two parallel ditches, were of LIA date (Clark 1991: 13-15). The roundhouses are now known to be of MIA date (Dawson 2000b: 115).</p> <p>Salford Quarry lies about 300m to the east of Whitsundoles Farm, where recent gravel extraction has produced evidence of EBA, EIA, and Saxon activity (Luke <i>et al</i> 2005a: 1). Further west, at Broughton Old Covert, Roman field systems, focussing on an east-west trackway, were found; these date to the period between AD 150 and 400 (Petchey 1978). A watching brief in 2001 and 2002 revealed continuation of LIA and RB enclosures system, oriented on a trackway. The whole field system, including that investigated by Petchey, is now known to extend over 50 ha (Luke <i>et al</i> 2003: 5).</p>					

Sandy, BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	HER ref	Grid reference
Sandy (general)	50	L2	3	444	TL 1848
Sandy (Stratford Road)	52	L2	3	11311	TL 1847
Sandy municipal cemetery	53	L2	3	11313	TL 1748
Sources					
Johnston 1974; Simco 1984; Dawson 1995; Black 1995; BCAS 1996; Wilson 2000; Curteis 2001 ; Dawson 1991; Edgeworth and Steadman 2003					
Description					
<p>The Roman town of Sandy extended along the Baldock–<i>Durovigutum</i> road, about 5 km to the south of the confluence of the Ivel and the Ouse, and 15 km to the east of the Roman settlement of Kempston Church End. Sandy reached over six hectares during the second century, and possibly over 10 hectares by the LRB (BCAS 1996: 7). To the north and east of Sandy, there were three hillforts of EIA date; however, although there is evidence of LIA activity around Chesterfield, in the form of LIA ceramics (Dawson 1995: 171), there is no proven continuity from the earlier IA.</p> <p>During construction of the railway in the 1850s, a large cemetery containing cremation and inhumation burials was found at Tower Hill, west of Sandy. There were a variety of cremations: at least a dozen, urned and unurned. Some were surrounded by ashes and associated with burnt animal bones, and possibly bustum burials. One urn contained three sets of bones divided by small squares of net, with a ring and a coin. The inhumations ranged from a jumbled mass of informal burials, to those in elaborate wood and lead lined coffins. Many coins and an iron-work hoard were also found in this area (Johnston 1974: 40-41; Simco 1984: 115). A cremation cemetery of LIA date, including some imported vessels, was also found near the modern cemetery. There is also evidence of possible exhumation at this date: a skull fragment was found beneath the main road, which was constructed in the mid first century, which means the remains could be of LIA or conquest date (Johnston 1974: 37-38).</p> <p>The first synthesis of the town described it as ‘a small but rich unwallled settlement’, where many finds were made over the years, particularly in the modern cemetery (Chesterfield) (Johnston 1974: 35). Although Sandy has produced many ‘exotic’ finds, such as the bronze phalera of Medusa and a ‘triple flower vase’, and hoards of iron and bronze work, no evidence for structures had been found by 1974, and at that stage the town was thought to have functioned as a production and redistribution centre, involved with local agricultural settlements, such as Furzenhall, which lay to the south-east, just outside the study area. The attribution of AE3 status to Sandy in this research was solely due to a fragment of a sculpture which could have been of architectural nature. In 1974, Sandy was described as having a generally low level of architectural elaboration, and no <i>tesserae</i> or painted plaster had been located there – only a single flue tile (Johnston 1974: 52).</p> <p>During 1988-91, further excavation took place in Chesterfield, revealing a minor road, ERB single-roomed, rectangular timber structures, later stone-founded buildings, and evidence of copper and iron-smithing. Further inhumations, of 4th century date, were located amongst buildings, and included at least ten infants, and three groups each of several adult inhumations (Dawson 1995: 195). An RB burial with possible ritual elements comes from beneath the modern cemetery, an area known to be part of the Roman town. A u-shaped pit 7-8 feet deep, and the same width at the top, was discovered. It contained three skeletons (possibly male, one with a dented skull), dumped in headfirst. Pottery, including a mortarium, glass and a bronze tool, were also included, and, more interestingly, there were also a set each of horns of goat, sheep and cow (Johnston 1974: 39). No date is given for this burial. More recently, a small cemetery of second century date has been found to the south of the RB settlement, at 6 Stratford Road, with 13 inhumations, arranged in rows (Wilson 2000: 3).</p> <p>In 1994/5, a small excavation west of Chesterfield revealed a large mortared stone building, perhaps a <i>mansio</i>, and possibly aligned on the Roman road (BCAS 1996: 8). It does seem likely that a <i>mansio</i> would have been located here, approximately halfway between Baldock and <i>Durovigutum</i> (19 and 23 km respectively). This may have been substantiated by two finds of relief-patterned flue tile. Where these are found in a roadside settlement, it has been proven that a Hadrianic <i>mansio</i> lay close by</p>					

(Black 1995: 43). Further evidence of high status structures has still to be made (Dawson 1995; Dawson 2004: 80). However, the Extensive Urban Survey (Edgeworth and Steadman 2003) suggests that there was some element of planning in the town.

From the large amount of burial evidence from the town, it is possible that Roman Sandy may have had a largely ritual function, and this is reinforced by the presence of iron and bronze hoards, for example a hoard of cart fittings, farriers' tools, a cobbler's last, an anvil, axe and key from Tower Hill (Johnston 1974: 224), and the unusual finds already mentioned, as well as sculptures and other imagery. It is also thought that there was a religious focus here in the LIA, due to the finds of 30 IA coins in a nearby stream bed (Dawson 1995: 175; Curteis 2001).

Sandy, Engayne Road, BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	HER ref	Grid reference
Sandy, Engayne Road	51	L2	1	6612	TL 1750
Sources					
Dix and Aird 1983: 2					
Description					
A site about 1 km to the north of the Roman town, which produced pottery, human bones and some other RB finds.					

Saxon Street, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
Saxon Street, Milton Keynes	92	L2	1	MK313	SP 8538
Sources					
Marney 1989; Mynard 1987: 46-47.					
Description					
A site with second century occupation, ditches, pits, potholes and an area paved with cobbles.					

Shalstone, MK

Site name	Data level	SMR ref	Grid reference
Shalstone, Bucks	L3	5820	SP 6437
Sources			
Curteis 2001: 208			
Description			
A site near the town of Buckingham, where 15 British LB staters and 23 British QB staters were found in 1997, via metal detection. Most were found within an area of 10 sq m, but some were up to 70m away. They were in a number of separate deposits. There were a number of RB finds, none of high status, and no further IA items.			

Sharnbrook, BD

Site name	Data level	Grid reference
Sharnbrook (Felmersham Bridge)	L3	SP 9957
Sources		
Simco 1973; Kennett 1976 and 1977; Philpott 1991:13		
Description		
<p>The site lies on the Ouse in north-west Bedfordshire. A number of bronze items, including a bronze fish head spout, interpreted as part of a wine strainer, a wine bucket with cow head handle terminals, and a bronze decorated wooden casket, as well as an extensive assemblage of pottery, including imported vessels, were found under the north bank of the river, at Felmersham Bridge, Sharnbrook, in 1942. Finds also included a shale ring and pieces of bronze ribbon and plate. This was originally thought to be a bronze founder's hoard, because some of the items were fragmentary, but it is now interpreted as being part of a burial, partly because they were deposited in a deep cavity or vault (Kennett 1977: 18; 1976: 21).</p> <p>The vessels from Sharnbrook are, like those of Hillgrounds, now thought to be of post-conquest date. The casket is also evidence of a post-conquest date, since the earliest yet known date to the Claudian period (Philpott 1991: 13). This burial has been assigned Level 4 status in this research and may have been a manifestation of the Welwyn tradition of wealthy burial.</p>		

Shenley, MK

Site name	Data level	SMR ref	Grid reference
Shenley Brook End	L3	3079	SP 8235
Shenley, Dovecote Farm	L3	3074	SP 8335
Shenley, Grange Farm	L3		
Shenley Church End	L3	3079	SP 8335
Sources			
SMR; Mynard 1987; Curteis 2001			
Description			
<p>A great deal of random and metal-detected finds have been made over the years in the vicinity of Shenley, which lies about 4km to the west of Watling Street and <i>Magiovinium</i>.</p> <p>At Dovecote Farm, <i>tesserae</i> (found 1901), might represent a tessellated pavement, and pottery, tile, and many other finds including metal items and coins have been found over a long period, and a wide area (Mynard 1987: 21).</p> <p>Grange Farm yielded six Roman coins, one IA coin, and two brooches (but there are many other finds from this general area) (Curteis 2001: 211).</p>			

Sherwood Drive, see Bletchley

Silverstone Fields Farm, see A43

Stagsden, BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	Grid reference
West Stagsden	11	L2	1	SP 9749
East Stagsden	12	L2	1	SP 9949
Stagsden Golf Course	54	L2	1	SP 9949
Sources				
Dawson 2000b; BCAS 1998				
Description				
<p>Stagsden lies in a shallow valley of a tributary of the Ouse, some 5 kilometres distant, to the east of Bedford, and was excavated in the early 1990s. Stagsden West was revealed after initial stripping of topsoil for road construction, and Stagsden East was selected due to the presence of cropmarks. The West Stagsden site lay at the edge of an Iron Age and Romano-British farmstead, and contained pits, part of a roundhouse, and ditched boundaries, while East Stagsden included several roundhouses, ditched boundaries, a group of pits, and pottery kilns, and dated from the MIA, with some activity into the early RB period.</p> <p>Settlement in the this area continued under the new road and this southern part formed one of the six sites at Stagsden Golf Course, which covered a total of 7.5 hectares. Most of the excavated locations were again identified by cropmarks, revealing enclosures, ditch systems, and in one case, roundhouses. These sites span the EIA to early RB period, with predominantly LIA/RB activity, and there is evidence of shifting, expanding and contracting settlement (Dawson 2000b: 5, 32).</p> <p>In addition, a site in the village has been listed as a possible Roman building (Spring Lane) (SMR 2555). It consists of a finely worked stone wall, three feet high, and one foot below the surface, with a yard outside, paved with worn limestone. Apart from this structure, there was no evidence of stone-foundations, or rectangular constructions, at the Stagsden sites before the late second century. Even in later RB times, architecture remained conservative.</p> <p>Only East and West Stagsden revealed burial evidence, both of LIA date: a cremation in West Stagsden, and an interesting example of a neonate inhumation at East Stagsden (Fig 5.12). A large oval grave pit, which had cut into three postholes, measured 8m by 4m, and at the base lay a young foal, carefully placed in the ground, and nearby a local shelly fabric jar, broken neatly in half. Above was the human neonate burial. A smaller pit had been dug into the eastern side of the larger one: both pits contained a number of vessels, and charcoal fragments. The smaller pit, which may have been filled soon after the main grave pit, also contained burnt stone. At least seven of the twenty vessels found in these features were notable for being drilled in one or more places. Together with the broken jar, the items suggested ritual use associated with the burial (Dawson 2000b: 45-8, 85). The presence of charcoal and burnt stone also suggest that mortuary rites had been practised here. It is possible that the postholes represent some sort of structure, perhaps a platform, where these rites took place, before the grave pit was dug. More prosaically, it could have been a windbreak.</p> <p>Although there is no evidence of religion in Stagsden, there is a great deal for ritual, including aspects of the infant burial, especially the presence of the foal. One interpretation is that the child may have been buried as if mounted on the animal. The fact that all of the pots were deliberately broken or drilled, and the possibility that the head of the horse was slightly separated from its body, could represent forms of sacrifice which ensured safe passage to the after life. Another potential sacrifice is represented by a LIA West Stagsden find of a dog's head, in a (contemporaneous) pond, but unassociated with human burial. Other animal deposits which could have ritual meaning are the incomplete skeleton of a sheep, and two dogs, one possibly skinned, found in a pit also containing limestone bocks, in East Stagsden, and dating to the early Roman period (Dawson 2000b: 122, 130).</p> <p>At the Golf Course site a fully articulated mature horse was found in a sub-rectangular pit, accompanied by a few sherds of pottery, and also dating to the late IA to early RB period. The horse was regarded as a status symbol and ritual involving horses was part of LIA elite society (Creighton 2000: 26). In no other way could the evidence from Stagsden Golf Course site suggest that occupation here was of high status.</p>				

Stanton Low, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
Stanton Low	28	L2/ L3	4	1700	SP 8443
Sources					
Woodfield 1989; Curteis 2001; Brown <i>et al</i> 2001					
Description					
<p>Stanton Low is located on the south bank of the Ouse, approximately five km to the east of Watling Street. On the northern bank lies Haversham, where a great deal of RB evidence has been found over the years. Stanton Low was occupied in the MIA, by the LIA period was already extensive (3 ha), and expanded to over 6 ha during the second century. Post-conquest activity included a land management/drainage scheme, roads and a timber bridge, followed by the construction of stone-founded barns and other rectangular buildings, and a timber wharf. The whole was enclosed by an engineered river channel, with an outlying cemetery.</p> <p>In the early to mid-second century, between four and six separate substantial stone buildings were constructed, of villa quality. In around AD 140, Building 2 was a large stone range containing at least 5 rooms, with at least one black and white geometric mosaic, and a hypocaust system. Building 3, a large bathhouse, 25m long, was possibly earlier and was also decorated with similar mosaics and elaborate wall paintings. There was some decline during the next century, but from the late third century there was extensive refurbishment of the buildings.</p> <p>The western cemetery contained 3 urned cremations, possibly more, while the eastern cemetery held 11 inhumations, 8 in wooden coffins, of late second century date (Woodfield 1989: 169-170). In the fourth century, the western cemetery contained six inhumations, one of which (Burial 10) was of a child under a year old. The body was in a lead coffin, which was enclosed in a wooden outer coffin, and there was no evidence of grave goods (Woodfield 1989: 236). There were also at least 4 infant burials beneath floors, in LRB phases.</p> <p>Stanton Low has been classified as a villa in this research, and was possibly also the site of a vineyard, for a series of long, close set, ditches were found (Brown <i>et al</i> 2001: 756). However, it seems rather unlikely that this 'lazy bed' system accommodated vines, if the early date (late first century, early second century) (Woodfield 1989: 258) is correct. However, elsewhere these ditches have been interpreted as having some ritual meaning, for many terminated in roundhouses, and were burnt down in the mid-first century. A large number of metal finds, including the ceremonial tripod mentioned in Table 5.21, a bone flute, and an 'occultist's ingot', were found beneath a floor in one of the buildings. 76 Roman coins were also found in the excavation. Curteis suggests that Stanton Low as a whole may have had a ritual purpose (Curteis 2001: 197-8). This may also have applied to its corresponding site, Haversham.</p>					

Stantonbury, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
Stantonbury	86	L2	4	MK301	SP 8441
Sources					
Zeepvat 1987					
Description					
<p>Stantonbury is located about 1 km south of the Ouse, and 2 km east of Bancroft. Four main structures were excavated here. Building 1 was a substantial circular stone structure, about 8m in internal diameter, containing an oven. It was in use throughout the second century and produced no evidence of architectural elaboration. Building 2 was a rectangular building, measuring 6.5 x 10m internally, with stone piles within, and massive walls. It was constructed in the later second century and allocated to AE2 due to the presence of ashlar masonry. In the third century it was extended by a smaller square building, and in the fourth, a small bath suite was added to the north, thus giving the site 'villa' status in terms of both floor plan and AE3. Buildings 3 and 4 were circular stone structures, larger, but less massive than Building 1. The former was of second-century date, and the latter possibly built in the fourth century.</p> <p>Although Stantonbury has been classified here as a villa by the fourth century, its status and purpose has been difficult to interpret, due to the massive size of Building 2. It is suggested that this was a tower granary, with strengthened walls to hold grain, similar to that at Gorhambury. The two later circular buildings may have had agricultural use. Stantonbury may have been part of a much larger site which was not fully excavated, or possibly associated with nearby Bancroft (Zeepvat 1987: 97-104).</p>					

Syresham, see A43

Tempsford, BD

Site name	Data level	HER ref	Grid reference
Tempsford	L3	801	TL 1652
Sources			
Rudd 1964; Simco 1984			
Description			
<p>A small excavation in 1962 found a large spread of pottery and building materials, and small finds, including spoons, tools, and third century coins. Ashlar blocks, <i>tesserae</i> and marble wall facings were discovered nearby, but no structures were evident (Rudd 1964: 78)</p>			

Thistley Green, BD

Site name	Data level	HER ref	Grid reference
Thistley Green, Kempston Moor End	L3	245	TL 0049
Sources			
SMR			
Description			
<p>A substantial RB building with stone footings, roof, floor and flue tiles, and <i>tesserae</i>, was found in 1937, to the north-west of Kempston Church End RB settlement.</p>			

Thornborough, Bourton Grounds, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
Thornborough road site	35	L2	1	BC 582	SP 7233
Thornborough temple	36	L2	6	BC 2497	SP 7233
Barrows	37	L2	12		SP 7333
Sources					
Curteis 2001; Green 1965; Green 1983; Johnson 1975; Lewis 1992; Liversidge 1954					
Description					
<p>Bourton Grounds, Thornborough, is located just to the east of Buckingham, and in the west of the study area. It lies on the banks of the Twin, 2km from its confluence with the Ouse, and comprises at least 3 sites. A number of roads, possibly three, met here and a hollow trackway and ford, both thought to be of LIA date, suggest pre-conquest use of the site. There was later first century (R) occupation of the site, as attested by a later first century cremation cemetery which contained at least seven burials. One had no grave goods; the remainder were well furnished. There were in total nine Samian vessels, and four of glass (which gave them the classification of Level 3). The cremations were in wooden boxes. In the late second century an inhumation was found in a ditch beside the road, casually deposited, with a broken neck (Johnson 1975).</p> <p>To the north of the Twin, some 500 km from the cemetery, were constructed two, perhaps three, barrows. Both mounds were opened in 1839-40 by the Duke of Buckingham, and although one had already been disturbed, the second yielded 'outstanding' grave goods. The barrow was constructed in the later second century, and is 156ft in diameter and 25ft high. It contained a <i>bustum</i> cremation, that is, the funeral pyre took place on site, in this case upon a platform of limestone. The cremated remains were placed within a glass jar on the platform, grave goods were placed on top, and all was covered by wooden planks. The grave goods included a lozenge shape gold sheet fragment, two bronze jugs, two glass jugs, a bronze lamp, a Samian dish and cup, a poppyhead beaker, and two amphorae. There are also nineteenth century reports that 'rows of skeletons' were dug up near the barrows of the years; possibly a larger inhumation cemetery was located in the vicinity (Liversidge 1954; Lewis 1992: 15-18).</p> <p>The first evidence of ritual activity at Thornborough dates to the third century when the RC temple was constructed, although an earlier wooden structure beneath it cannot be ruled out (Johnson 1975: 31). The temple was of stone and the 17 foot square cella was surrounded by a verandah, in the floor of which were buried excarnated human remains. Over 300 coins of late third or fourth century date were found, and, sealed in earlier floor deposits were three coins of second century date. An adjacent structure was categorised by the excavator as 'the custodian's building'. However, it is possibly of equal interest to the temple, 50m distant. It was an aisled building, 45 ft by 20 ft. There was occupation debris in one end, but also, beneath a threshold, the ritual deposition of a horse skull, listed in Table 5.19. There is also evidence of a courtyard facing the temple, and the presence of others buildings around it (Green 1965: 356-361). A figurine, thought to be of Isis, was found in the vicinity (Green 1983).</p> <p>It has been suggested that this was perhaps a large ritual complex, for all the fields around the temple have produced large amounts of votives over the years, including 200+ Roman coins, model weapons, bronze figurines, brooches, gold leaf plaque (Curteis 2001: 211-2). It has also been suggested that a number of shrines were placed along the roads adjacent to Bourton Grounds, based on frequent scatters of stone, tile and pottery. One of these, listed as a horse burial (Table 5.18), could also have been a ritual structure, placed on a clay platform (Lewis 1992: 23).</p>					

Tingewick, MK

Site name	Data level	SMR ref	Grid reference
Tingewick, Stollidge Field	L3	0087	SP 6634
Sources			
SMR; Lewis 1992			
Description			
<p>Excavated in the 1860s, this was described as a corridor style building, perhaps a villa and bath-house, with ancillary buildings. However, the plans were lost and the layout is not known. The site has since been called an industrial one, due to presence of metal-working debris, and of a 'dyeing works', or simply as a 'working farm'. The building had stone foundations, 'tiled pavements', and possibly slate roofing. Recent re-interpretation saw no evidence of a bath-house, and apart from a possible hypocaust system there was no further architectural elaboration. The building has therefore been allocated architectural elaboration Level 2.</p> <p>There were many small finds, including jewellery, combs, knives, over 200 Roman coins, and several styli (Lewis 1992: 12-13). The SMR states that the site may have been a temple, due to the large number of coins. The presence of springs close by reinforces this interpretation.</p>			

Ursula Taylor School, BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	Grid reference
Ursula Taylor School, Clapham near Bedford	20	L2	1	TL 0342
Sources				
Dawson 1988				
Description				
<p>A site with LIA and earlier occupation, situated 1 km to the north of Bedford, which consists of a number of small enclosures, and one roundhouse. There was a large and well-preserved assemblage of LIA pottery.</p>				

Walton, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
Walton, Milton Keynes	6	L2	1	MK36 MK90	SP 8936 SP 8836
Sources					
Mynard and Woodfield 1977; Mynard 1987: 30; 37					
Description					
<p>Walton (MK36) is located east of the Ouzel, and 4 km north of <i>Magiovinium</i>. The site consists of a small enclosure, with a large pit containing LIA pottery, mainly grog-tempered wares, probably from the nearby Caldecotte kilns.</p> <p>MK90 lies nearby, and is a second century site, possibly representing settlement shift from MK36. Pottery, a cobbled surface, and roof tile suggest perhaps a timber building with a tiled roof. Pottery shows occupation until the fourth century.</p>					

Warren Villas Quarry, BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	Grid reference
Warren Villas	32	L2	2	TL 1846
Warren Villas Quarry	32	L2	2	TL 1847
Sources				
Curteis 2001; Dawson 2000b; Dawson and Maull 1996; Slowikowski and Dawson 1993				
Description				
<p>There are two sites at Warren Villas Quarry, each of Size 2, and covering an area of around 5 ha altogether. They are situated west of the river Ivel, and one kilometre to the south east of Sandy, over a fordable river crossing. The area was occupied from at least the Neolithic, and by the RB period large areas along the river were divided into small fields, along a common alignment, forming a linear site along the river. There was at least one farmstead in the area, also a kiln site (Slowikowski and Dawson), and evidence for burial. Occupation was not continuous: there is evidence for flooding at the end of the LIA, and reoccupation between the first and fourth centuries, followed by further flooding (Dawson and Maull 1996; Dawson 2000b: 123).</p> <p>A small inhumation cemetery, of RB date, was found in an area to north of this site. In the vicinity were an isolated prone burial by the river, and isolated cremations near field boundaries (these were undated but also assumed to be RB) (Dawson and Maull 1996: 62). Warren Villas, yielded Roman coins and RB metal artefacts, and, as at Sandy, there were rectangular post-built structures nearby, of uncertain use, and is therefore suggested as a possible ritual site (Curteis 2001: 193-195).</p>				

Wavendon Gate, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
Wavendon Gate	7	L2	2	3145	SP 9036
Sources					
Green 1996; Williams <i>et al</i> 1996					
Description					
<p>Wavendon Gate is located some 3 km to the east of <i>Magiovinium</i>, and a couple of kilometres north of the IA hillfort at Danesborough. It was a farming settlement from first century BC onwards, which in the first century (R) was reorganised to enclose an area of 3 ha. The site was relatively prosperous for a rural settlement, as shown by the number of imports, and quality of glass vessels, especially in the early Roman period, which could also reflect the proximity of Watling Street and <i>Magiovinium</i> (Williams <i>et al</i> 1996: 23-25, 83-89). The site yielded several indications of possible literacy, and there is evidence of a sequence of burial rites and an interesting collection of possible ritual or religious items including wheel symbols and the 'Taranis' object.</p> <p>Unlike most Roman sites, Wavendon Gate has produced a great deal of tangible evidence of belief in the supernatural (Williams <i>et al</i> 1996: 89). A bronze wheel-headed pin of second century BC date may represent a solar cult which continued into RB times, when it was associated with Jupiter/Taranis worship. The horse skull deposits in the ditches at Wavendon could conceivably be connected with the find nearby of the wooden 'Taranis' wheel, the cockerel foundation deposit, and a sheep burial, all located with a few metres of each other, and dated to the third century. The wheel, and other wooden and leather items, were preserved in a pit (Pit 835) which could itself have served a ritual purpose. Interestingly, the pit also contained wooden writing tablets, possibly used for making vows to the gods.</p> <p>A possible foundation deposit was found in a posthole and consisted of a defleshed disarticulated cockerel, which did not appear to be the remains of a meal, and of a complete, but broken, pot. In addition, 150m away from the pit a small hoard of bronze items was found by metal detection. It contained four miniature wheels, two of which were complete, and fragmentary remains of other bronze goods, and was perhaps aimed/meant to be melted down. The miniature wheels are of particular interest because of their links with the cult of Taranis. No details are known of their context, but they have been stylistically dated to the LIA/ERB by comparison with continental examples (Green 1996: 115-6). It therefore seems likely that there was a continuity of ritual and possibly more formal religion for several centuries on this site, possibly connected with Taranis or a solar cult.</p> <p>Burials at Wavendon covered the period between the late first century R and the fourth century, and included scattered cremations around the site, and an ordered cremation cemetery of early second to early third date. This was bounded by a ditch to the north and south. Of the 3 inhumation of fourth century date, one was adjacent and aligned to the cremation centerery, suggesting it was known by oral tradition and by markers.</p> <p>Some burials were relatively well-found. Cremation 3, of late first to early second date, was in a barrel beaker, and contained a bronze-decorated casket, a butt beaker, Samian dish, glass jar, glass unguent bottle/phial, and a rectangular copper alloy mirror. Cremation 1, of mid second century date, was in a hexagonal glass jar, and contained an iron hanging lamp, Samian dish, miniature flask, bowl, beaker and a glass jug, and also unspecified animal bone.</p>					

Westbury, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	Grid reference
Westbury-by-Shenley (near Tattenhoe)	80	L2	1	SP 8235
Sources				
Ivens <i>et al</i> 1995				
Description				
Two pairs of cremations were found here, unassociated. All were unurned. Cremations 1 and 2 had no grave goods, but each had 23 nails, suggesting a coffin or bier burnt with body. Of the other pair, cremation 4 was accompanied by at fragments of at least 2 vessels.				

Westcroft, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	Grid reference
Cranborne Avenue, Westcroft	27	L2	1	SP 8234
Sources				
Anthony 2003				
Description				
A LIA farmstead, consisting of a ring gully, small enclosure and series of pits, occupied c 100 BC to AD 50.				

Weston Underwood, MK

Site name	Data level	SMR ref	Grid reference
Woodlands Farm, Weston Underwood	L3	4542/4543	SP 8652
Sources			
SMR			
Description			
Several sites of IA and RB date are known here, from fieldwalking and from finds recorded in the SMR (see Table 3.12).			

Whittlebury, MK

Site name	Data level	SMR ref	Grid reference
Whittlebury villa	L3	1209	SP 7344
Sources			
SMR			
Description			
The main range of the villa, which was excavated in 1850, consisted of two buildings. One contained twelve rooms, and had a bath-house adjacent. The establishment was well appointed, with two mosaics and painted wall plaster, and finds included 95 Roman coins, jewellery and other small items, and a possible altar. The walls of the villa have been traced on either side of the (modern) road.			

Whittlebury Church, MK

Site name	Data level	Grid reference
Whittlebury Church	L3	SP 6844
Sources		
Jones <i>et al</i> 2005		
Description		
Recent research as part of the extensive Whittlewood Project, together with an excavation in 2003, revealed a late prehistoric enclosure to the southeast of the church, which stands in a commanding position above the village. Eight roundhouses, and pits containing IA, LIA and RB pottery, have been found here, as well as Roman coins. Four pits yielded pottery of IA or LIA date. Pit 151 contained animal bone, daub and charcoal, and a second pit held burnt material including grain, pottery, and a human mandible. A third contained pottery, covered by a flint and limestone fill, while Pit 132 appears to have been a more deliberately structured deposit. Four or five vessels, possibly deposited whole, lay at the base, where there was evidence of burning, and were covered by soil. Next came a layer of charcoal and burnt daub and grain, covered by a layer of soil contained a human skull frontal bone, laid flat to form a bowl. Above was a deposit of animal bones and a final covering of limestone and flint nodules. It appears that this pit may have been the result of a sequence of events, rather than being deposited all at once.		

Willen Road, Caldecotte, MK

Site name	Data level	Grid reference
Willen Road, Caldecotte, Newport Pagnell	L3	SP 8742
Sources		
ASC 2003		
Description		
Excavation in 2005 by ASC Ltd found occupation of LIA to third century date, beside the River Ouzel. There were three possible roundhouses from the earlier phases, and a relatively large RB settlement (400x450m), which might indicate either a large family, or even a small village.		

Willington/Cople, BD

Site name	Data level	HER ref	Grid reference
Willington and Cople (cropmark)	L3	1861	TL 1148
Sources			
Simco 1984			
Description			
An extensive complex of cropmarks covers two square kilometres and shows several phases of rearranged field boundaries. Regular rectilinear cropmarks at the western end suggest a 'villa' site (Simco 1984: 32). The only other evidence appears to be ceramic, although Roman coins, and at least one IA specimen, have been found in the vicinity. Cropmarks show a road running up to, and continuing beyond, the site, possibly Viatores Route 224 (Fig 8.1).			

Willington Quarry sites, BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	HER ref	Grid reference
Redlands Quarry	75	L2	7		TL 1050
Plantation Quarry	58	L2	10		TL 0950
Willington Quarry North	23	L2	7		TL 0950
Octagon Farm		L3		1480, 20748	
Sources					
Dawson 1996; Malim 2000; Pinder 1986; Steadman and Thompson 2001					
Description					
<p>The Willington Quarry sites are found in an extensive area of gravel working, south of the Ouse, and east of Bedford. They include the four sites above, and are part of prehistoric ceremonial landscapes (Malim 2000). The sites are notable mainly as possible ritual locations.</p> <p>At Plantation Quarry a rectangular enclosure, 40 x 26m, overlying one side of a Bronze Age ring ditch, has been interpreted as an IA shrine. The part of the enclosure crossing the ditch may have taken the form of a timber structure. The focus of the enclosure was a large pit approximately in the centre of the ring ditch, which contained a pig's head, and possibly legs, together with flints and IA pottery. However, RB pottery in postholes suggests continuity into that period (Malim 2000: 78).</p> <p>Area V of Redlands Quarry, which lies to the east of Plantation Quarry, consists of a small square enclosure, 10m x 10m in internal dimensions. When excavated in 1984, no definite function could be assigned to it, beyond the possibility of it surrounding a square building which left no trace, but it has been included here because of its shape, and the large amounts of pottery sherds in the enclosure ditch, which also contained a quernstone fragment and oyster shells (Pinder 1986: 35). The square shape, pottery sherds and quernstone suggest some ritual function.</p> <p>To the west of Plantation Quarry lies the Octagon Farm ceremonial complex (Fig 6.24), which includes monuments of Neolithic, Bronze Age and IA date, including a cursus, five mortuary enclosures, hengiform monuments, and several ring ditches. A causewayed enclosure lies one kilometre to the south at Cardington. The complex included three rectangular enclosures, which are possibly Romano-Celtic temples/funerary enclosures. The smallest was a square feature (1480.16) and had an entrance to the east, and an interior posthole, possibly holding a 'totem' (Malim 2000: 75-8). The largest (1480.17) was double-ditched, and had an entrance facing east, towards three ring ditches, and a path leading in that direction (pers comm: Mike Luke, Albion). It would be interesting to discover whether these were still extant barrows in RB times and therefore visible sacred places. O.G.S. Crawford noted many such barrows early last century when crossing the Bedford area by train</p>					

(I Lisboa, pers.comm.). The third, HER 20748, was rectangular and positioned between two of those ring ditches.

More recent excavation at the Octagon Farm site, just to the west of the (modern) farmhouse, has revealed further LIA and RB activity (see Castle Mill Airfield).

At Willington Quarry North, part of the Octagon Farm site, two LIA isolated inhumations were excavated, in enclosures either side of a driveway. One enclosure contained a neonate, and the other adult burial. ERB phases at the site showed construction of linear boundaries, perpendicular to the track, several wells, two kilns, and one LRB inhumation (Steadman and Thompson 2001: 4-5).

Wilstead, BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	Grid reference
Wilstead	21	L2	1	TL 0643
Sources				
Albion 2002a				
Description				
A site with EIA and MIA occupation, and reoccupation about AD 0. By the ERB there was a regular layout of enclosures, and at least one timber roundhouse, and a large assemblage of pottery.				

Windmill Hill, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
Windmill Hill	85	L2	1	MK96	SP 8433
Sources					
Mynard 1987					
Description					
Three rectangular timber structures, of later second to fourth century date, were excavated at Windmill Hill, which was likely to have been an agricultural site (three corndriers were present), but has been classified here as AE3, on the basis of a large fragment of architectural masonry (620 x 420m), possibly a lion or sphinx, found when the site was stripped prior to excavation. This was not in dateable context and there was no other evidence of architectural elaboration, but it seems likely that a high status building was located nearby (Mynard 1987: 37-9). Lion or sphinx sculptures are likely to have originated in a mausoleum or other high status funerary monument (D.Mattingly, pers comm). This site is about 5 km from Bancroft, the nearest known likely source in the area, but of course others may well have existed nearby, for example, at <i>Magiovinium</i> , or the sculpture may have been brought in along Watling Street.					
A cremation, probably of late first century date, was found nearby.					

Wood Corner, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
Wood Corner, Milton Keynes	87	L2	1	MK64	SP 8539
Sources					
Mynard 1987					
Description					
At Wood Corner, which lies about 2km south-east of Bancroft, a timber rectangular building was built in the mid second century, succeeded after a fire by circular buildings later that century. Rectangular structures reappeared in the third and fourth centuries, still of timber. Flue tile and wall plaster give this site category of AE2, but there is some hint that they come from a nearby and higher status building (Mynard 1987: 53-60).					

Wootton, BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	Grid reference
Keeley Lane, Wootton	57	L2	1	TL 0046
Sources				
Pollard and Baker 1999				
Description				
A site to the south-west of Bedford, consisting of ditches, and a large number of pottery sherds, some of which were deposited whole.				

Woughton, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	SMR ref	Grid reference
Woughton	84	L2	1	MK297	SP 8638
Sources					
Mynard 1987: 90-104					
Description					
A site about 5 km from both Magiovinium and Bancroft, on higher clayland. Some early first century occupation, and by the early second century, rectangular timber buildings supplemented circular structures.					

Wyboston, BD

Site name	Site no.	Data level	Site type	HER ref	Grid reference
Wyboston, Eaton Socon	24	L2	1	476	TL 1757
Sources					
Simco 1973: 12; SMR					
Description					
LIA and RB occupation site, which was flooded between LIA and not reoccupied until 2 nd c. Large amounts of pottery and other settlement debris found here, including GB wares in the LIA phase, and coal from NE Britain in the RB phase.					

Wymbush, MK

Site name	Site no.	Data level	SMR ref	Grid reference
Wymbush	48	L3	MK211	SP 8238
Sources				
Marney 1989; Mynard 1987				
Description				
Site consists of two stone built structures, located 3km from Bancroft and some 10km from <i>Magiovinium</i> . Occupation began c AD 160, but ended in the late third century. One structure was more substantial, with a corridor, and possibly two storeys.				

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Abbreviations

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